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XIII

A HISTORY OF THE
USE OF INCENSE
in Divine Worship


BY

E. G. CUTHBERT F. ATCHLEY,
L.R.C.P.Lond., M.R.C.S.Eng.

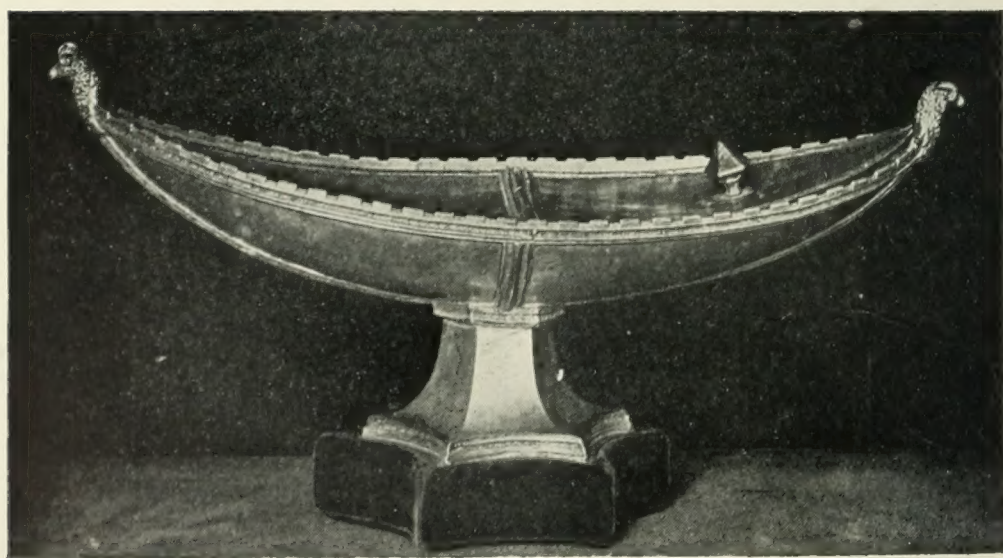
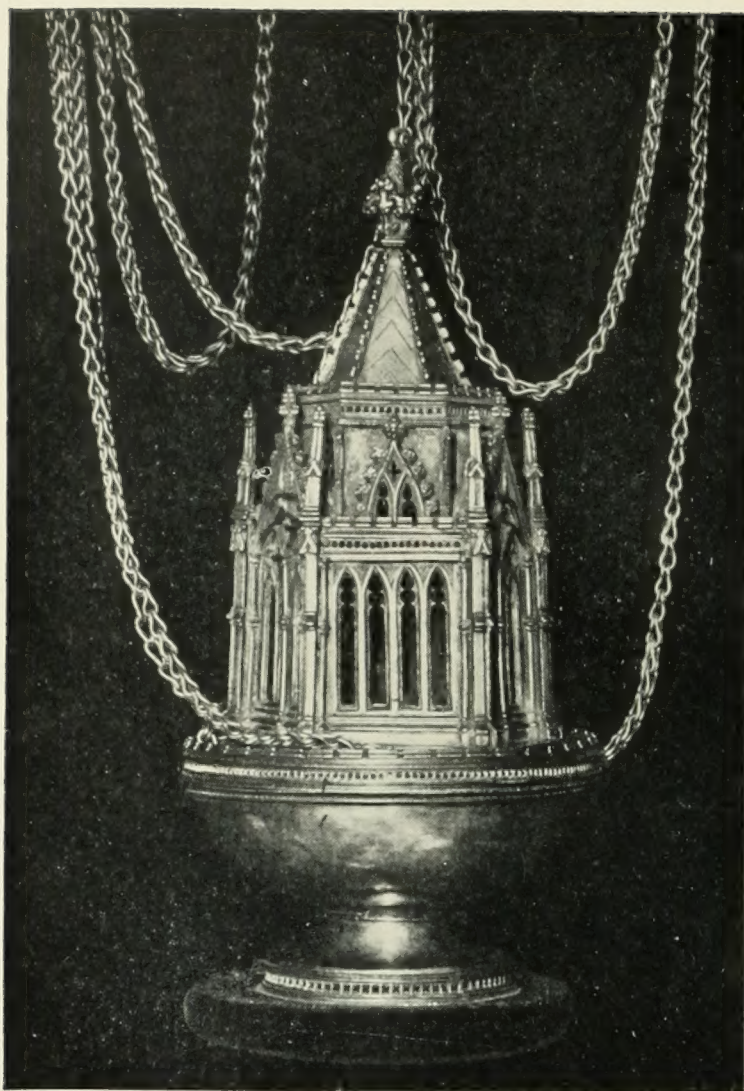
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Censer (late XIVth century) and Ship (early XVIth century) found in Whittlesea Mere ; they probably belonged to Ramsey Abbey.

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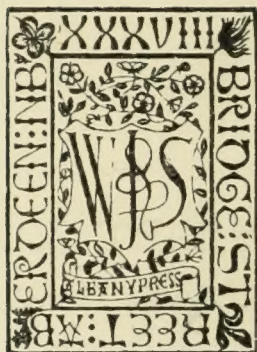
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PREFACE

THE use of incense and processional lights has been of late discussed in the Anglican Church with considerably more fervour than knowledge, and it has assumed an importance in controversy all out of proportion to its merits. Bishops and curates, members of Parliament and the man in the street, have discoursed at large upon the ceremonial connected with incense and processional lights with a vehemence and emphasis that could not have been greater, had the subject of their debate been a cardinal doctrine of the Christian faith, instead of two unimportant and comparatively trivial ceremonies.

The blame for this rests more or less equally on all the parties concerned: but the entire lack of a due sense of proportion shewn on all sides is not an encouraging indication either of theological attainments or of statesmanship. Moreover, the judicial and historical spirit which should have inspired this controversy has almost always been lacking: ill-taught zeal and unrestrained imagination have taken its place.

Under such circumstances it would seem that there is room for an attempt at a merely historical investigation of the subject, with no ulterior motive than discovery of the facts of the case. This, such as it is, is now set before the reader. It is the result of many years work in collecting and comparing the various pieces of information, the digest of which may perhaps present, if not many new facts, some new ways of regarding long known ones.

It may be that the conclusions, to which this dissertation on the origins of our use of incense in worship leads, will be welcomed by some whose inclinations are opposed to what they are generally pleased to term "ornate ritual," and will be distasteful to many to whom the ceremonial of the Catholic Church appeals most strongly. To the former,

it must be said that the extra-Christian origin of any ornament or ceremony used by the Church is no argument against its being used. If the Church at large has adopted it, so long as it be innocent and do not necessarily connote false doctrine or heresy, that is sufficient. Had we to discard all ceremonies, ordinances, and ornaments that had their origins or their parallels in some non-Christian custom, how many of those which we have should we be able to retain?

The surplice, for example, would have to go. It was, originally, an undergarment, part of the ordinary costume of Roman civilians. The black gown, perhaps, might be retained: but it is to be feared that its origin is sadly tainted with "popery," and the curious might remind us that a Jewish priest who had become unfit for service put on black garments and departed, while one approved by the Sanhedrin clothed himself in white, and went in and ministered.

Bread and wine were offered and partaken of in the worship of Marduk,¹ and of Mithra: but must we then cease to offer them in the Christian Eucharist? Our Lord himself took another widely spread non-Christian ceremony, which was used with the idea of purification from sin and uncleanness;² he elevated it into a sacrament for the remission of sins and made it a laver of regeneration. It may be objected that these cases are hardly on all fours with the use of incense: they were sanctified to a divine use by Christ himself, who is God, and by him made necessary to salvation: neither of which can be said of incense. All this is very true: Baptism and the Eucharist differ from the ceremony of burning incense in kind as much as in degree of importance: nor is the latter of divine but merely of ecclesiastical appointment. Still, the fact remains that the example of taking

¹ Compare the story of the Destruction of Bel and the Dragon, v. 3. For the Mithraists see Fr. Cumont, *The Mysteries of Mithra*, transl. T. J. McCormack, Chicago and London, 1903; p. 158.

² Q. Sept. Fl. Tertullianus, *De baptismo*, cap. v, mentions the baptism used in initiation into the mysteries of Isis, and of Mithra. *Cnf.* D. Iunius Iuvenalis, *Satira* vj, ll. 522 sq. The Scandinavians used infant-baptism (*Northern Antiquities*, Edit. I. A. Blackwell, (Bohn's Antiquarian Library, London, 1887; pp. 206, 213, 366).

ceremonies from non-Christian sources, and hallowing them to Christian use, was set by our Lord himself. The principle is the same, although the expression of it is different.

An instance, more to the point than these, is the ceremonial use of flowers at funerals, and as an altar decoration. This came in just about the same time as the use of incense. It has been decided that, for legal purposes, flowers are only decorations, and their use not a ceremony within the meaning of the Acts of Uniformity; but legal distinctions are proverbially fine, and in this case particularly so. The Romans and other pagan nations used to scatter flowers and garlands over the graves of their departed friends: even a monster like Nero found someone to keep up the ancient custom for his benefit. So, too, they used to decorate their altars with flowers; and in the *acta* of St. Symphorian we read that the judge wished the saint to deck the altar with wreaths as well as to offer incense. But I do not find that the Christian writers, before the Peace of the Church, approved of the introduction of such practices, any more than they approved of the ceremonial use of black clothes at funerals and in mourning.

In the fourth century the use of flowers, both at funerals and as an altar decoration, came in; but even then some had great reluctance in adopting this heathen custom. St. Ambrose, for instance, refrained from casting flowers on Valentine's grave, although he did not forbid others from doing so. Instead of the material perfume of the lilies, he says he poured on his spirit the odour of Christ. St. Jerome, although he does not condemn husbands who scattered violets, roses, lilies and crimson flowers on the graves of their wives, seems to think that Pammachius did much better by pouring the balsam of almsgiving over the body of Paulina.

Flowers were used to decorate the walls of the churches in the fourth century: St. Jerome, St. Austin of Hippo, and others allude to the practice. Later on, the altar itself was adorned with flowers. To-day the custom is almost universal.

We have assimilated this ceremonial use of flowers from the pagans: but I do not remember to have heard that any

one has objected to it on that score. The custom of scattering flowers on the graves of our friends is harmless and beautiful: like many another it is grossly abused at times, but it is generally recognised that such abuse is no reason against a temperate and well considered use of flowers. And the same holds good for the custom of floral decorations in our churches.

The point which concerns us here is that these ceremonies, derived from heathen sources, adopted at about the same time as incense and processional lights, are approved by the greater part of Christendom to-day. Nevertheless, they were originally pagan customs: now hallowed, however, for Christian use by the Church.

But if we take the high line that everything of extra-Christian origin in use in the Christian Church must be bad, what shall we do when we learn that in the course of the fourth century,—just about the same period as witnessed the introduction of incense—the Western Church began to keep the anniversary of the Lord's Birth, and selected for the day on which it was to be remembered the winter solstice, which the devotees of Mithra celebrated in Rome as *Natalis invicti*, the birthday of the Unconquered One: a festival which in England we still keep, and at which we decorate our churches with holly, and with mistletoe, the sacred bough of the Druids, which the Norsemen tell us was the means whereby the sun-god Baldur the good was slain. Surely a considerable amount of paganism encircles the keeping of Christmas Day!

Enough has been said to show that the heathen origin of any Church custom cannot safely be made an argument against its use. Those who are interested in this matter should read Lancelot Andrewes on the use of ceremonies borrowed from heathen sources (*A Pattern of Catechistical Doctrine, &c.*, Oxford, 1846; pp. 366 sq), wherein he shows how the heathen used funeral torches, had bells in their temples, denounced the use of images, used the laying on of hands in ordination of kings and ministers, worshipped with bared heads, and draped their priests in white garments.

To those who will not allow that the Church has power to adopt ceremonies from non-Christian sources it may be

sufficient to point out that there are several disciplinary and ceremonial regulations which are accepted by all Christians as binding and right, but which nevertheless have no other basis of authority than ecclesiastical custom or law. Canonists recognise that the prohibition of marriage with a deceased wife's sister rests on ecclesiastical and not on divine law, and so upon occasion may be dispensed from. The observance of Sunday instead of Saturday rests entirely upon ecclesiastical custom : not even a canon of a council being available as authority for it. It has nothing to do with the Jewish Sabbath, which was kept on the seventh day of the week ; and John Milton asked of the Sabbatarians, " if on the plea of a divine command, they impose on us the observances of a particular day, how do they presume, without the authority of a divine command, to substitute another day in its place ? "

Again, why do Christian laymen restrict themselves to marriage with one wife at a time ? There is nothing in the Bible against polygamy for them. As John of Leyden, the anabaptist king of Münster, told the Lutheran preachers : St Paul expressly forbids *bishops*, *priests* and *deacons* to have more than one wife : *ergo*, it is lawful for *laymen* to have many wives. Nor is polygamy in itself condemned in the Jewish Patriarchs. So that Christian monogamy rests on ecclesiastical custom, based on Christian dogma.

Seeing then that two such important matters as the keeping of Sunday and laymen's monogamy are questions of discipline, received by all that profess and call themselves Christians, solely on the authority of the Catholic Church, it is clear that the same authority suffices to order such a minor ceremony as that of incense, even though the sense of the Church at one time seemed to be opposed to it.

On the other side, it must be confessed that a good deal of nonsense has been talked about the importance of the use of incense. We have been told, for instance, that the abandonment of it in English churches in which it has been adopted would involve ceasing to lay instructive emphasis on Christian truths in the way in which this emphasis existed universally in earlier times, and exists at

the present time in the rest of the Western Church, and still more markedly in the Churches of the East. Others have told us that the use of incense is an ecumenical ceremony, whatever that may mean. In short, an importance quite unknown to the past has of late years been attributed to the ceremonial use of incense. But the Canon Law, though it deals in a fairly comprehensive fashion with matters the lack of which prevents a priest from continuing the mass, says not a word about what should happen if incense were wanting; and the canonists follow suit.

On the other hand, heretics have objected to the use of incense before the religious upheaval of the sixteenth century. Durandus¹ mentions that certain heretics asserted that incense ought not to be used during mass, because Christ at the Last Supper burnt none, and Isaiah said: *Incense is an abomination unto me*. Arguments of this sort are somewhat dangerous: the ceremonial of the Last Supper may or may not have included incense—most probably not, but certainly that of either evangelical or any other church bears little real resemblance to it.

It must not be supposed that the ceremonial, whether of incense, lights, or anything else, which is described in the official service books of any age obtained in its fulness in the ordinary parish church: the services detailed in the books are those of a cathedral, abbey, or collegiate church. Moreover, in England, there is no evidence that at any time the strict following of the letter was ever made such a point of as it is in many places at the present day. An Italian observer² of the Coronation of Queen Elizabeth remarks on the absence of a master of ceremonies, and states that the English care nothing about formalities. In parish churches they carried out the ceremonial of their rite to the best of their ability and their means: and it was probably not until the reign of Henry VII that the wealth of the parish churches generally throughout the country enabled them to conform to such details as a strict

¹ *Rationale*, Lib. IV: cap. xxxi: n. 4.

² *Calendar of State Papers, Venice, 1558-1580*, Record Series, 1890; vij, 17.

sequence of colours and that sort of matters. Even in the sixteenth century, if we may rely upon Thomas Becon, country churches usually only used incense at the Offertory, and then only on high festivals.

In the second part it has not been usually thought necessary to give references to massbooks, other than in the text. Thus, when a practice is said to have obtained, *e.g.* at Evreux in 1740, at Paris in 1777, at Luçon in 1828, and so on, it means that the same is ordered in the massbooks of those dioceses printed in the years named. In most cases copies of the massbooks are in the British Museum. To have given foot references in every case would have entailed considerable labour to no purpose: for the directions occur in the *Rubricae generales* prefixed to these books, and can easily be turned up by looking in the proper section or chapter for them.

At the suggestion of some friends, I have added a chapter on the use of incense under the first Prayer Book of Edward VI, which, strictly speaking, lies outside of the plan I had sketched for myself when preparing this volume.

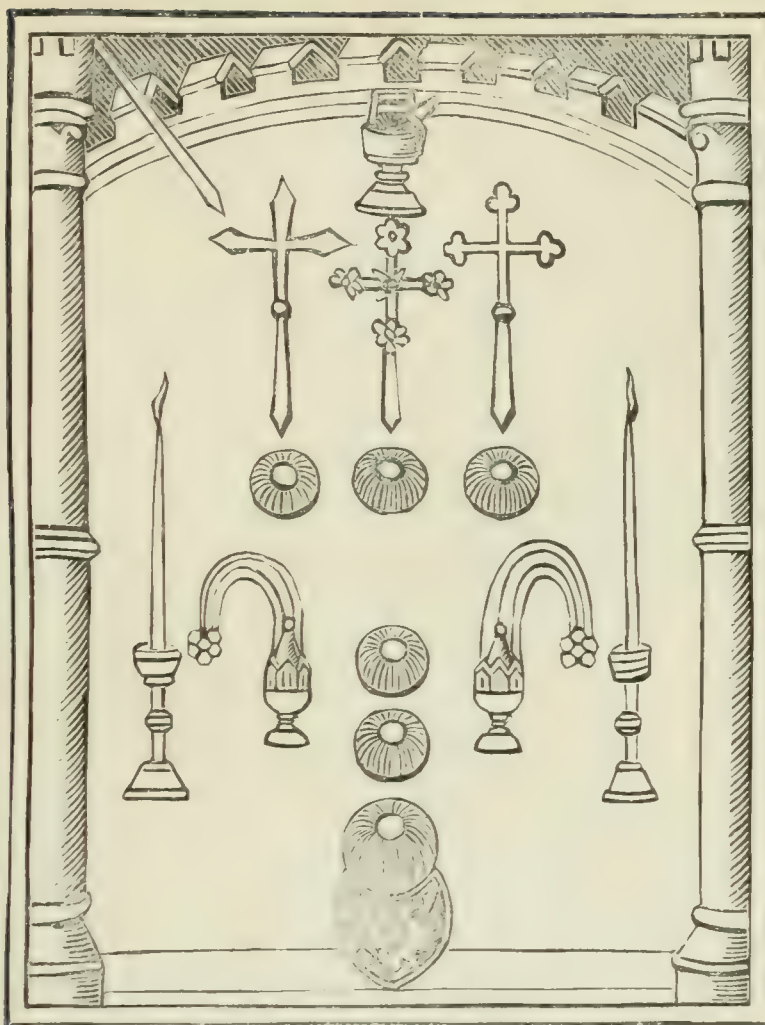
I have to thank all those kind friends who have assisted me from time to time with information and suggestions, and in verifying and obtaining references for me in books that were beyond my reach: amongst whom I must name Dr. Wickham Legg, the Rev. F. E. Brightman, and specially Mr. F. C. Eeles, on whom I have had to depend most frequently, and to whom I have been specially troublesome.

The woodcuts reproduced at the Cambridge University Press from the early sixteenth century Salisbury Processionals have been lent through the kind offices of the Rev. Chr. Wordsworth, M.A. I have also to thank the Rev. C. W. Whistler, M.R.C.S., from whose photographs the frontispiece is taken; Mr. Stephen Gaselee, Pepysian Librarian, Magdalen College, Cambridge; Mr. W. K. Dickson, Advocate, Keeper of the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh; and Mr. James Galbraith, University Librarian, Glasgow, for kind assistance.

Dr. Wickham Legg has kindly lent the blocks illustrating the ceremonies of Auxerre and of the Charterhouse monks.

The Rev. Percy Dearmer, in conjunction with Messrs. Mowbray, has lent the block of the procession at the dedication of a church (p. 188) from *The Prayer Book: what it is and how we should use it*: to him and to Mr. Henry Frowde I am indebted for the loan of the three blocks, pp. 99, 211 and 264 from that invaluable practical manual the *Parson's Handbook*; and my best thanks are due to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland for permission to use their illustration of the Garvock censer, now safely housed in the National Museum at Edinburgh. Mr. Alexander Moring has been good enough to allow me to reproduce two pictures of Ravenna mosaics from *Ordo Romanus I*, and Messrs. Thomas Cook & Son have most kindly lent me two blocks (pp. 14 and 16) from Dr. E. A. Wallis Budge's *The Nile*.

Finally I have to acknowledge, with thanks, permission from Messrs. Burns & Oates to use the blocks opposite pp. 257, 261; from Messrs. T. & T. Clark, permission to reproduce the pictures on p. 364 of the extra volume of Dr. Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*. Messrs. Macmillan & Co. have given me permission to use two illustrations from Erman's *Life in Ancient Egypt*, and Messrs. Methuen have allowed me to use an illustration from Professor Flinders Petrie's *History of Egypt*.



The procession and station on Christmas Day.



The procession at the expulsion of penitents on Ash Wednesday.

Diagram from the Santa Fe Manual.

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DESCRIPTIVE LIST OF PICTURES

Frontispiece.—Late 14th century English censer found in Whittlesea Mere, when it was drained in 1850. It probably belonged to Ramsey Abbey. The basin is circular, the cover octagonal with openwork fenestrations on each side, separated by buttresses rising into pinnacles. Above are miniature battlements out of which rises a blunt spirelet with crocketed ridges. The chains are modern.

Frontispiece.—English incense-ship of the early part of the 16th century, found with the censer in Whittlesea Mere. The foot is mullet shaped. There are miniature battlements round the edges: half the cover is hinged. The ends are finished with birds' heads.

p. x.—Diagram from the Sarum Processional printed at Rouen in 1528, illustrating the procession and station on Christmas Day. Like the other diagrams of this class the drawing is very rude and grotesque, but the positions of the ministers are carefully shewn, either by an outline of that which they carry, or by a rough indication of the top of a tonsured head.

The order according to the rubric is: First the sacristans carrying verges in their hands; then the boy with holy water; three crosses carried by three clerks vested in albes with amices, two taperers and then two thurifers in like habit, then the sub-deacon and deacon, vested in dalmatic and tunicle, each carrying a *textus*; after the deacon the priest, in albe, amice and silk cope, the choir following in silk copes.

p. x.—Diagram from the Sarum Processional printed at Rouen in 1508, showing the station on Ash Wednesday when the bishop expels the penitents. The rubric orders the procession to go through the midst of the choir with-

out a cross, but with sackcloth banner, taperers and thurifer. The diagram shows the clerk in a tunicle carrying the banner, two censers, and the bishop in chasuble and mitre.

p. 9.—From the middle colonnade, southern wall of the temple at Dêr el-Bahrî.

The Egyptian ships at Pûn-t are being loaded "with great quantities of marvels of the land of Pûn-t, with all the good woods of the Divine Land, heaps of gum of *ânti*, and trees of green *ânti*, with ebony, with pure ivory, with green (= pure) gold of the land of Amu, with cinnamon-wood (*tešeps*), *heyst* wood, with balsam (*ahemtu*)," &c., &c.

The frankincense-trees are seen, some standing on the deck, and some being carried on board. Thirty-one trees were carried home.

From the colonnade, southern wall, of the temple at Dêr el-Bahrî.

The Egyptian boats are returning home with the products of the Divine Land. The incense-trees are on deck: a monkey on all fours is walking along a thick rope just in front of the mast, and another is seen squatting on the same rope further forward.

p. 11.—Two figures from Adolf Erman's *Life in Ancient Egypt*, translated by H. M. Tiraud, London, 1894; pp. 61 and 62. Shewing the King of Egypt offering incense, on the one side in two pot-shaped censers, and on the other in a long handled censer. They belong to the period of the New Empire.

p. 14.—From British Museum papyrus 9901. An Egyptian Funeral procession. The mummy of Hu-nefer lying on a boat-like bier, drawn by oxen, is followed by four men drawing a sepulchral chest surmounted by Anpu, the god of the dead. In front of the bier walks the *sem* priest, wearing a panther-skin, holding a long handled censer in his right hand in which incense is burning, and pouring a libation out of a vase held in his left hand.

p. 16.—From British Museum pap. 9921. The upper left-hand corner shows the rest of the funeral procession continued from the plate facing p. 14. A youth carries

the chair, staff, and box of the deceased : in front of him are wailing women, and in the fore front of the procession is the *herheb*, reading from an open papyrus the funeral service. The middle of the picture shows the ceremony of "Opening the Mouth," at the door of the tomb. Hu-nefer's mummy is embraced by the god of the dead. Anpu ; and before it his wife and daughter are taking a last farewell. A priest, holding the *ur-hekau* (an instrument shaped as a ram-headed snake) is about to touch the eyes and mouth of the mummy with it : in the other hand he has two other instruments used in the ceremony. The priest by his side is offering several vases of ointments to the mummy. Behind these two priests is seen the table of offerings ; and lastly, the *sem* priest, in his panther skin, holding a censer in his left hand and a libation-vase in his right.

Below are seen a cow and a calf, two priests, one holding a vase, the other a haunch, a table of offerings, and a sepulchral box, and a large table on which are laid out the instruments and vases, etc., used in the ceremony of opening the mouth.

p. 17.—Stele of Ást, from W. M. Flinders Petrie, *History of Egypt*, vol. iii, p. 174. The princess Ást was the daughter and heiress of Neb-maât-Râ, Râ-messu VI, c. 1160 B.C. She was married to the high priest of Ámen, and is represented as adoring that god.

p. 64.—This is a very interesting picture, illustrating the habit of our medieval forefathers of depicting everything in terms of their own period, regardless of anachronisms. Although the knight is censuring with a medieval censer before a medieval altar, the scene is an illustration of Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, and the knight is intended to represent Cyrus.

p. 81.—The blessed Virgin Mary and the Holy Child enthroned with angels censuring, from a MS. English psalter, British Museum MS. Ad. 28681, fo. 190 v.

p. 96.—Mass for the dead in the 15th century. The moment represented is probably just after the censuring of the oblations at the offertory, although it may be at the introit or before the gospel. The scene is the interior of the choir of a church, the parts of which are shown considerably out of proportion. The priest stands before the altar and is turning to the people with hands joined. The altar has frontal and linen cloth but no lights: upon it stands the chalice partly covered with the corporasses. There are riddels and a low carved reredos: the foot-pace is of wood, the chancel floor tiled. In the choir stalls are mourners in black cloaks and hoods. In the middle is the bier covered with an ample herse cloth or pall; a large candlestick stands on the floor on each side. Behind, a chanter, in surplice (?) cope and round black cap, is singing at a desk. A boy in an albe carries a censer at arm's length in his left hand, and an incense ship in his right: he appears to be censuring around the body. From a French MS. book of hours of the 15th century in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (MS. 85).

p. 99.—A Flemish funeral procession at the end of the 15th century. The herse, covered with a crimson pall adorned with a gold cross, is borne by mourners wearing black hoods; on the torches are scutcheons blazoned with a coat-of-arms. The officiant, holding a book, is in a purple cassock, surplice, red stole with series of gold crosses and crimson cap: over his left arm he carries a grey fur almuce. Other clergy are similarly vested, but the stole of one is blue. The vergier has a wand. On the right, entering the church, are two banner bearers with richly coloured banners, and a clerk carrying the cross. From British Museum MS. Ad. 35313, fo. 159.

p. 103.—A wall-painting in the narthex of the lower church of St. Clement, Rome. It represents the translation of St. Cyril from the Vatican to the church of St. Clement in 863 A.D. Four clerks hold lighted torches about the bier, and two others are engaged in censuring the body of the saint. The altar is small, and partly covered with a fringed cloth on which the mass book lies open.

p. 114.—The funeral of a bishop. A bishop, in albe chasuble and mitre, stands at the head of the body with his right hand outstretched and a crosier in his left hand. A clerk in a surplice holds an open book from which the bishop appears to be reading the absolutions. At the foot of the bier stands another bishop, in albe, cope and mitre, censuring the body with one hand and holding the incense ship in the other. The drawing is in the margin of an English 13th century manuscript, British Museum, Royal 2 B. vii, p. 298.

p. 114.—A Spanish funeral in the 14th century. The deacon is censuring the herse, and another cleric sprinkles it with holy water. The bishop with his right hand outstretched in blessing appears to be giving the absolutions. Two clerks in surplices stand behind, and others with cross and lights stand opposite the clergy. British Museum MS. Ad. 20787, fo. 82v.

p. 127.—The bishop, in cope and mitre, stands between two taperers who are vested in surplices: a thurifer vested in a surplice holds up the censer and ship to the bishop, who is about to put incense into the censer. From an Italian manuscript pontifical, of the early part of 15th century, in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (MS. 28).

p. 127.—The bishop, in albe, cope and mitre, is blessing a vessel full of incense and a censer, which are placed on the altar. From an Italian manuscript pontifical of the early part of the 15th century in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (MS. 28).

p. 135.—Diagram from the Sarum Processional of 1508, showing the station at the blessing of candles on Candlemas Day. The woodcut indicates the altar and reredos against the east wall, with the candles lying in bundles on the highest of three steps close to the south end of the altar. The deacon and subdeacon are indicated on each side of the priest, who faces east; the vergers are at the south side, the crosses, lights and censers in the usual order behind.

p. 135.—Diagram from the Sarum Processional of 1508, showing the station while the branches are blessed on Palm Sunday. The arrangement is almost identical with that of the Candlemas diagram above; the palms for the clergy are on the south corner of the altar, those for the laity on the step.

p. 139.—Diagram from the Sarum Processional of 1508 for the station while the paschal candle is blessed on Easter Even. The picture shows little, but the rubric before it runs: "Then let there follow the blessing of the paschal candle by the deacon himself, vested for a procession . . . turning to the north at the step of the presbytery, the taperers assisting the deacon, one on the right and the other on the left, turning towards him, the candles being unlighted, except that upon the staff. Let the subdeacon hold the text and stand in front of him, let the bearer of the staff stand beside him on one side and the taperer holding the small candle on the other, as here shown."

p. 140.—Diagram from the Sarum Processional of 1508, showing the station in the nave before the rood, made after evensong on Saturdays from Trinity to Advent. The rubric directs no processional cross, two taperers and a thurifer in albes, a book-boy in a surplice, the officiant in surplice and silk cope, and then the chanters and choir. It will be noted that the diagram shows three priests in chasubles. The vestments shown in these diagrams do not always agree with the rubric: other instances of disagreement being Candlemas Day and Palm Sunday, when the priest is shown in a chasuble instead of a cope.

p. 140.—Diagram from the Sarum Processional showing the procession on Rogation Monday. The usual order of procession is shown, viz., verger, holy water, cross, lights, censer, subdeacon, deacon, priest, but the rubric orders *capsulae reliquiarum* to be carried by two deacons following the thurifer: it also requires the "dragon," three red banners, the "lion" and the other banners to be carried before the procession. (See the diagram for Ascension Day, p. 160.) The Rogation-tide peculiarities are not

shown, but only the ordinary features of a procession according to the English order.

p. 152.—The censuring of the altar at a choir service, presumably evensong. A priest in a cope is kneeling before the altar with a censer in his right hand. The altar has a frontal and linen cloth : above the reredos stand images with candles in candlesticks between them. A lamp hangs from the roof. Behind are chanters in copes singing at a desk.

From a breviary written in France in the 15th century. British Museum MS. Ad. 18851, fo. 289.

p. 158. The Corpus Christi procession in France in the 18th century. The artist has treated the scene rather freely, showing the street outside leading straight into the church. The priest bears the sacred Host under a canopy, preceded and surrounded by lighted candles and torches carried by clergy and others. Some of the clergy are in copes, some in tunics. Two thurifers, in cassocks, bands and winged rochets, walk backwards, censuring as they go, and flowers are being freely scattered. The altar is prepared for Exposition with a large number of candles on shelves behind ; a quantity of plate and numerous reliquaries are exposed. From Bernard Picart, *Ceremonies et coutumes religieuses*, Amsterdam, 1723, vol. ii, p. 16.

p. 158.—The Palm Sunday procession in France in the 18th century. The procession is seen advancing through a cloister, or covered way, to the church door, upon which the celebrant is knocking with the processional cross. Two taperers in winged rochets stand one on either side, each holding a lighted candle. Dignitaries in surplices and fur almuces, some with copes, are following, and the people are in the background. The celebrant holds a palm branch, the rest have large branches of willow or some other green herb. On the right the interior of the church is shown, with two boys in albes just within the door, and a side altar of renaissance type in the background. From Bernard Picart, *Ceremonies et coutumes religieuses*, Amsterdam, 1723, vol. ii, p. 16.

p. 160.—Diagram from the Sarum Processional illustrating the order of procession on Ascension Day. The peculiar features are here shown, and not the whole of the first part of the procession. First there is the "lion," then the smaller banners (*deinde minora vexilla per ordinem*) then the "dragon." Between the thurifer and the sub-deacon two clergy in copes carry the relics.

p. 167.—The opening of the seventh seal in the Book of the Revelation of St. John the Divine. Seven angels stand before God, having seven trumpets in their hands. Another angel is standing at the altar, offering incense in a golden censer. The angel is also seen emptying the censer into the earth. Rev. viii. 2-6. British Museum Ad. 11695, fo. 126.

pp. 180-1.—A picture in mosaic on the left side of the altar in the church of St. Vitalis, Ravenna. The church was consecrated in 547 A.D., and the mosaic is of the same date. The emperor Justinian, and Maximianus the twenty-sixth bishop of Ravenna are in the centre of the picture. The emperor holds an offering-bowl, and the bishop a cross. With the latter are two clerks, one of whom carries a *textus*, or gospels'-book, and the other a censer. All three wear a long white garment, reaching to the feet, with full wide sleeves. A narrow black band, or *clavus*, passes over both shoulders to the bottom of the garment, which is an early form of the surplice, alb, and rochet. The bishop wears also a dark olive-green chasuble, and over it the episcopal scarf or *pallium*, which is white, fringed and marked with a cross. No stole is worn.

p. 181-182.—A picture in mosaic on the left side of the tribune in the church of St. Apollinaris in Classe at Ravenna: it represents the emperor granting the privileges of the Church of Ravenna to the bishop. The mosaic is of the seventh century.

p. 187.—A city besieged by the King of France whose forces are encamped before it. The clergy and others go

out to meet him. In the foreground a bishop, in albe, gold chasuble, maniple and blue 'precious' mitre, attended by two laymen, approaches the king. Behind, a procession is advancing. Two torch-bearers precede it, and in it are a bishop in cope and mitre carrying relics, and clergy in copes and surplices. From a French MS. of the 15th century. British Museum, Royal 20 E. i, fo. 47.

p. 188.—A procession round a church at its consecration. Two clerks carrying banners precede the bishop, who is vested in albe, dalmatic, cope and mitre, and is carrying the processional cross in his left hand, and swinging a censer in his right hand. Dignitaries in surplices and fur almuces follow the bishop, and one of them holds up the lower part of his cope. From a 15th century Flemish manuscript Book of the Gospels (Brit. Mus. Royal 2 B. xiii) which was presented in 1508 by the Lord Mayor, Stephen Jenyns, and his wife, to the Church of St. Mary, Aldermanbury, London.

(By permission of Messrs. Mowbray and Co.)

p. 192.—A wall-painting on a pillar in the nave of the lower church of St. Clement, Rome. St. Clement is celebrating mass. On the left Beno de Rapiza (flor. 1080) and Maria his wife are seen, offering *coronae* or oblation-loaves: behind them stands a subdeacon (?) with a censer. A *corona* or rowel of lights hangs over the altar. On the right Sisinus and Theodora (temp. Trajan) are represented.

p. 207.—The burial of Ferdinand, King of Arragon, showing standing censers or chafing dishes, set about the herse. Two are shown; they are small and square and have rings at the corners. Beside the bier is a low herse or frame for candles. The body of the king is dressed in a long robe lined with fur: his hands, on which are many rings, are crossed over the hilt of the sword, and a crown is on his head. The pope, in albe, crossed stole, gloves, cope and triple crown, is giving the absolutions from a book which a cardinal assists in holding: another cardinal stands by with a sprinkler, there are two other bishops in copes and mitres, with several religious. A clerk in a cope holds the processional cross at the head of the bier, and near the

foot is a group of mourners in curious striped cloaks and hoods. From a 15th century Spanish book of hours, British Museum MS. Ad. 28962, fo. 383.

p. 211.—Parts of the procession from Westminster Hall to Westminster Abbey at the Coronation of James II. (From F. Sandford, *The History of the Coronation of James II.* 1687.)

Three parts only of this long procession are here shown.

1. The Sergeant Porter and the Sergeant of the Vestry in scarlet robes with ebony staff and gilt verge; the Children of the Chapel Royal in surplices and scarlet choir copes.

2. The Groom of the Vestry "in a Scarlet Robe, with a Perfuming-Pan in his Hand burning Perfumes all the way," the organ blower, certain musicians, Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal in surplices and copes.

3. The Dean episcopal in rochet and silk cope (he was also Bishop of Rochester) and Canons of Westminster in rich silk copes.

The path of the procession has been strewn with flowers and herbs.

p. 213.—The entrance of the sacred ministers. From *Dat Boexken van der Missen*, a Dutch devotional book printed in 1507, the pictures from which have already been edited by the Alcuin Club, with descriptions by the Rev. Percy Dearmer (Collection V.), who writes:—

"The ministers are apparently not going direct to the altar but to the credence, where it would seem by Plate III, the cruets are placed. The sub-deacon walks first, carrying the two cruets; the deacon next with the chalice, on which is a pall or folded corporal, but no veil; behind him the priest, with hands joined; the clerk brings up the rear with the censer in one hand and the paxbrede . . . in the other."

p. 213.—The reading of the Gospel. From *Dat Boexken van der Missen*. Here the treatment is similar to that shown at p. 240. The deacon reads the gospel from the north side of the altar, facing north-west. The celebrant stands at the south side facing north. The sub-deacon swings the censer below the step; the clerk holds the ship

near him. Two taperers kneeling (?) near the north end of the altar hold up long torches. The chalice stands uncovered on a corporal in the midst of the altar.

p. 217.—A clerk in an albe is handing the censer to a bishop who stands behind an altar. The bishop is vested in chasuble, apparelled amice, and a low mitre, and the altar has a narrow frontlet with a gathered frontal. From a 13th century Exultet Roll containing scenes in the life of Guthlac, British Museum, Rot. Harl. Y6, 3rd scene from end.

p. 228.—*Tabella incensationis altaris in Missa solemni.* From *Ceremoniale Parisiense* 1703, p. 25. An altar of the traditional gothic form and arrangement, but carried out in renaissance detail, presumably the high altar of Notre Dame, Paris, in 1703. The figures indicate the swings for censuring according to the Roman method. The reredos is covered with an upper frontal, and a hanging lamp burns before the Eucharist, which is reserved in a hanging pix.

p. 237.—The saying of *Confiteor* before mass in the church of a Charterhouse. From the frontispiece of the Carthusian missal printed at Lyons in 1713. The same picture is repeated in the Grenoble edition of 1771. On the north side of the presbytery is a gospel lectern supporting the open book, with two standard candlesticks holding candles lighted before the service, one on each side. The priest says the confession facing southwards towards the deacon. The custom of the Black Monks at Westminster, and of the Cluniacs was the same, and the position of the priest at the beginning of the service agrees with the rubric in the Book of Common Prayer.

p. 238.—St. Stephen, vested as a deacon, holding an open gospel book in his right hand, from the little finger of which hangs a censer. The fanon or maniple, of large size, hangs over the second finger of the left hand, in which is also a palm branch: the dalmatic is very large and full, and appears to be gathered up round the waist with a girdle: the stole ends show beneath in front, as in the case of a priest. British Museum MS. Cal. A. XIV. fo. 3v.

p. 240.—The reading of the liturgical gospel at high mass in a small church. The deacon reads the gospel at the north side of the altar : the celebrant—a bishop—stands at the south side of the altar ; the subdeacon stands below the footpace behind the deacon, swinging the censer in one hand and holding the ship in the other. At the north end of the footpace the clerk (in sleeved rochet and amice) holds a candlestick and lighted candle in each hand—apparently the two altar lights removed for this purpose. The vestments are red, the frontal green : the chalice stands on the altar, and behind is a large reliquary. From a West German MS. pontifical of the 15th century. British Museum MS. Ad. 14805, fo. 24v.

p. 247.—*Ritus deferendi oblata*. From the frontispiece to the Auxerre missal of 1738. The solemn bringing in, or “Illation,” of the sacred elements of the offertory at a pontifical high mass in Auxerre cathedral. According to the use of Auxerre the subdeacon and his assistants mix the chalice between the epistle and gospel and the vessels so prepared are left upon the credence until the offertory. In his valuable paper *A Comparative Study of the Time in the Christian Liturgy at which the Elements are prepared and set on the Holy Table*, Dr. J. Wickham Legg describes this picture as follows :—

“The plate shows the celebrant, a bishop, standing in the middle of the altar, and turned to the people ; in front of him are the three deacons, and on the step below are the two cross-bearers in copes ; below them on the gospel side is the crocer ; opposite to him a canon in surplice, with a grey amyss over his left arm ; and a clerk carrying the mitre. All the ecclesiastics in copes wear bands.

“Advancing towards the altar is the procession with the gifts, which has come from the credence-table round the back of the altar.

“In this illustration, there is also an opportunity of comparing the furniture of an eighteenth century with that of a modern altar. In the first place, it may be noticed that there is a real reredos, not an enormous erection behind the altar, throwing the last into insignificance. Then there is

no tabernacle on the altar, but a hanging pyx over it; there is no gradine; and there are no flowers; the candles actually on the altar are only four in number, and of no very great height. There is plainly an embroidered frontal, which is therefore most likely of silk; at all events, the altar is not left naked. There are two *textus* on the altar, just as we can remember in the cathedral churches of the north, but which the restorers have banished. There are riddells partly drawn, at the ends of the altar.”—*Ecclesiological Essays*, by J. Wickham Legg; London, 1905, p. 141.

p. 251.—From Paul La Croix, *Vie militaire et religieuse au moyen age*, Paris, 1873; p. 303, fig. 223.

The censuring of the oblations or offering of incense at the offertory. From a manuscript of the ninth (? eleventh or tenth) century.

p. 257.—*Ordo incensandi Oblata juxta Rubricas Missalis Romani*. The diagrams for the censuring of the oblations as given in many Roman missals in more recent times.

(By permission of Messrs. Burns and Oates.)

p. 261.—*Ordo incensationis Altaris juxta Rubricas Missalis Romani*. The diagram for the censuring of the altar as given in many Roman missals in more recent times. In this instance reliquaries are not actually shown, and the uppermost gradine on which the six lights are placed has developed into a kind of low reredos. The crucifix stands on the throne, above and behind the tabernacle. A linen cloth is shown on the altar, but no frontal.

(By permission of Messrs. Burns and Oates.)

p. 264.—From Paul La Croix, *Vie militaire et religieuse au moyen age*, Paris, 1873; p. 225, fig. 176. A picture of the miraculous mass of St. Gregory, or “Our Lord’s Pity,” from a fifteenth century missal in the collection of M. Ambr. Firmin-Didot. The deacon is holding a torch at the consecration, and the sub-deacon is swinging a censer.

p. 264.—The elevation of the Host. From a Flemish manuscript of the end of the 15th century (British Museum

Ad. 35313, fo. 40). The priest, deacon and subdeacon are in golden vestments, the altar in rose-coloured frontal and frontlet. The deacon swings a censer in his right hand and raises the priest's chasuble in his left: the subdeacon raises the chasuble in his right hand and holds a torch in his left. On his right a small sacring bell is lying on the carpet. The altar has a triptych reredos and is surrounded by gilt riddel-posts and images, with iron curtain rods.

p. 265.—The elevation at a French pontifical high mass in the 18th century. The church is supposed to be Notre Dame at Paris, but the old altar shown in the 1703 *Ceremoniale* is gone (p. 228) and one of rococco type has taken its place. Here the *mensa* is not rectangular but of a fantastic shape; there are gradines, six large candlesticks and a towering reredos in the style of the period. The whole building has been classicised. A miniature frontal is still used and takes the form of a sunk panel. There is a similar upper frontal behind the gradines. The archbishop is elevating the Host and the principal deacon and subdeacon support his chasuble, which is remarkably full for so late a date. Secondary deacons and subdeacons kneel behind each other on each side: canons in copes, with the mitre, crosier and archiepiscopal cross kneel further to the side and near the altar. Four taperers in tunics hold up torches at the step and between them in the middle kneels the clerk, who is vested in albe and *soccus* (a kind of short cope open behind as well as in front), and holds the paten in a silver bowl and a veil. Behind the chairs which serve as sedilia, is the credence with the cruets and two lights. A group of layfolk is kneeling hard by. The thurifer kneels near the south end of the altar, and censes the Host in the traditional non-Roman way, by throwing the censer up with the full length of the chain. From Bernard Picart, *Ceremonies* London, 1733, vol. i., p. 334.

p. 282.—The Blessed Virgin Mary with the Holy Child; angels are censuring one on each side; they also hold incense ships. Further to the sides of the picture there are canopies, in each of which stands an angel in albe and cope

In the margin at the foot of the page is a spirited sketch of a knight on horseback in chain armour attacking another horseman, apparently intended for a Saracen.


From a thirteenth century MS., British Museum, Royal 2 B. vii, p. 150.

p. 296.—Diagram from the Sarum Processional of 1508 for the station and order of procession before Mattins on Easter Day. Here the cross, instead of being carried at the head of the procession, is borne by two priests after the manner of a reliquary, and the lights and incense are carried first, thus reversing the order observed in other cases. The cross is shown in the diagram with the figure facing the reverse way.

p. 312.—Censer found at the church of Garvock, Kincardineshire. Now in the National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh, (KJ. 26). Probably of the thirteenth century. The dimensions are: height 6 in., diameter of bowl 4 in., diameter of foot $2\frac{3}{16}$ in., depth of bowl $1\frac{3}{4}$ in., depth of cover $3\frac{3}{4}$ in. The censer was found in 1846 when foundations were being dug for a porch on the south side of the present church, and on what had been the site of the old church.

(By permission of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.)

p. 319.—A reproduction of a picture from J. Winckelmann, *Monumenti antiche inediti*, Roma, 1767; vol. i, pl. 177. Two women burn incense before a statue of Mars. On the right is seen a portable altar or censer, with handles.

p. 322.—1. Saxon censer-cover found at Pershore, Worcestershire. Size $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches square at base, where are four lugs, and 4 inches high. Inscribed:  hodric Me þvort. The upper part of the "roof" is pierced, the tracery being formed of conventional foliage and tadpole-shaped objects apparently intended to represent fish. Now in the possession of Mr. O. G. Knapp.

2. Thirteenth century censer found in Ripple Church, Worcestershire.

3. Thirteenth century censer cover found in Langwith Church, Derbyshire. The basin and chains are modern.

p. 370.—The Corpus Christi procession at Vienna in 1908. The officiant, attended by deacon and subdeacon, carries the holy Eucharist under a richly embroidered canopy, which is borne by four laymen in evening dress. The way is strewn with grass or rushes. Two clergymen in sleeved rochets may be seen on the left of the picture, and the Emperor of Austria, attended by his suite, follows the canopy on the right. Six boys in knee breeches, silk stockings, gold laced coats and laced bands, carry torches, three on either side of the canopy. They look very like the children of the English Chapel Royal. There are wreaths of flowers round the cups of the torch-holders and on the poles supporting the canopy. Immediately in front of the canopy walk two thurifers, one backwards and the other forwards. The one is censuring the blessed Sacrament, the other the procession path. They wear rich white and gold tunics over albes and amices, as was frequently the case in mediaeval times, and is still the custom in the great churches of Spain.

p. 372.—Diagram from the Sarum Processional of 1508 showing the station on Easter Eve, while the Litany is sung at the font. The five deacons singing the Litany stand behind the priest who stands before the font, on the opposite side of which are the deacon, subdeacon, thurifer, clerk with cross, taperers and vergers. On the right is the bearer of the cream, on the left the bearer of the oil, and behind him the book-boy. The bearer of the font taper, is not shown, but according to the rubric he would be between the deacon and the cream, and the deacon and subdeacon would stand one on either side of the priest.

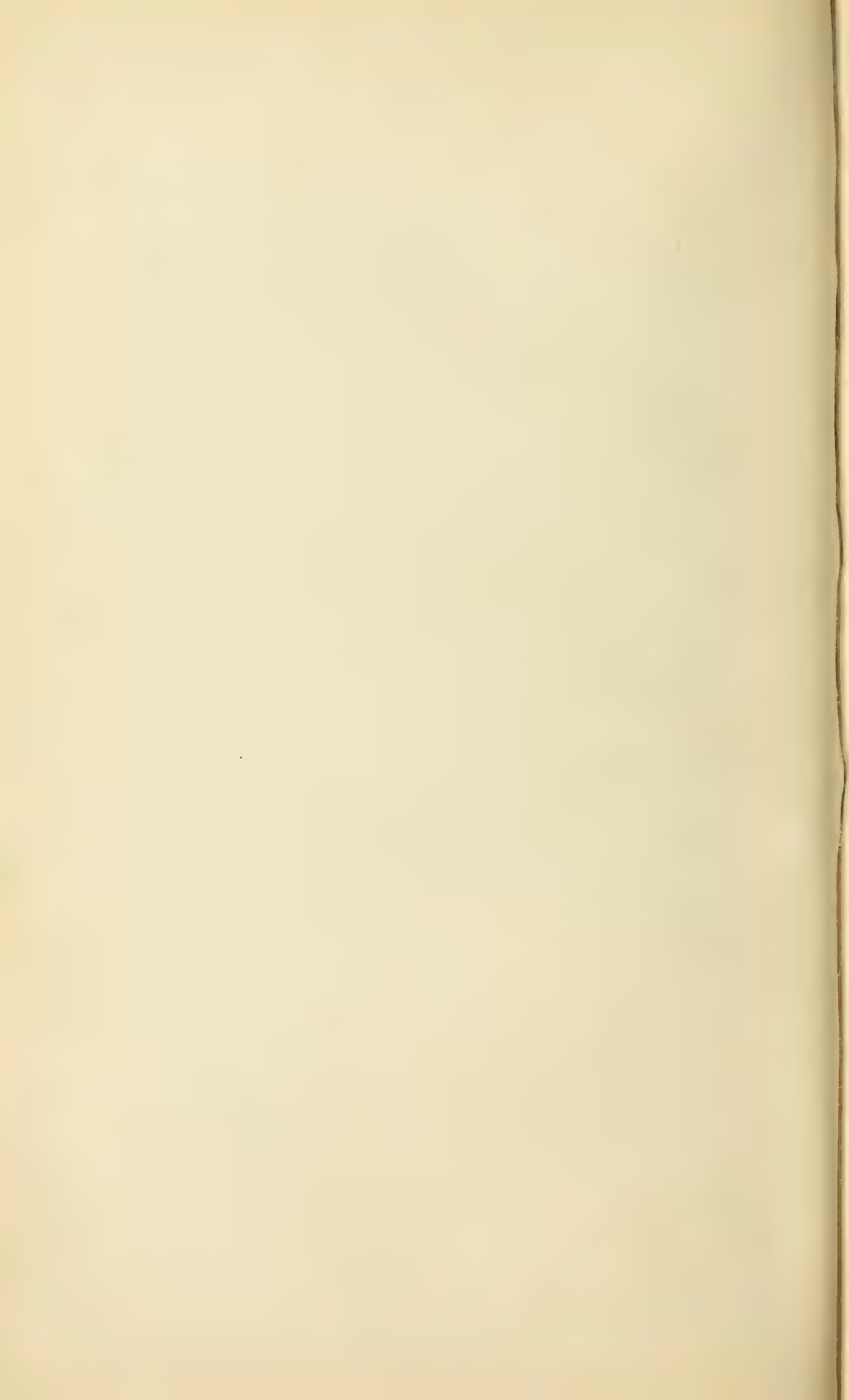
p. 372.—Diagram from the Sarum Processional showing the station at the font on Easter Day after Evensong. The priest stands before the font with the principal rulers of the choir (represented by T-headed staves) on either side. Opposite him on the other side of the font stand the book-

boy, behind him the three boys who sing *alleluia* in the procession, and the secondary rulers, one on either side of them, with the bearers of the oil and cream on either side of the thurifer behind.

p. 385.—Diagram from the Sarum processional for the station at the blessing of the holy water before the procession on Sundays. The priest blesses the salt and water at the step of the presbytery. Although shown in a chasuble here, the rubric orders him to wear a cope. Boys in surplices carry the salt and water and the book. Beyond the priest, all facing east, are the deacon, sub-deacon and other ministers, the thurifer standing behind the cross and lights and the vergers at the left side.

p. 398.—The three Maries and the angel at the empty Sepulchre of our Lord on the first Easter Day. One carries a censer, the others have vessels of spices. This is a common subject in pictures in early MSS. British Museum MS. Egerton 809, fo. 27v.

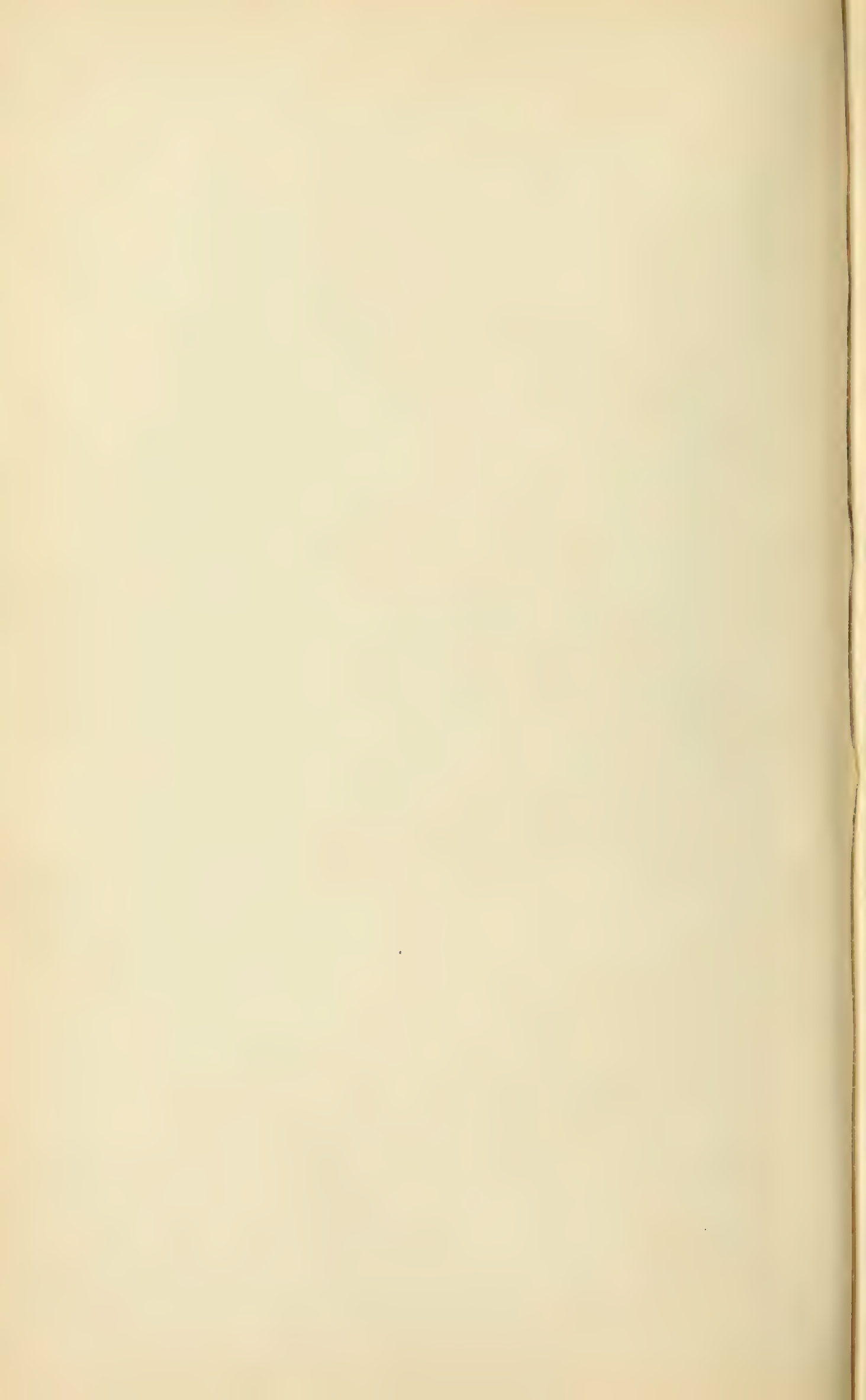
p. 400.—Diagram from the Sarum Processional for the station while the new fire is blessed on Easter Eve. The priest faces east reading from the book held by the boy. On his left are the deacon and sub-deacon in a line: on his right the boy with the holy water, the thurifer and the bearer of the fire: one taperer faces the priest, the other stands behind him, and behind again is the bearer of the triple candle.



PART I



NON-CHRISTIAN USES OF INCENSE



A HISTORY OF THE USE OF INCENSE IN DIVINE WORSHIP

CHAPTER I

INCENSE IN ORIENTAL RELIGIONS

§ I *Introductory*

THE purpose of the present enquiry is to try and ascertain the origins of the various ways in which incense is used in Christian worship: understanding by this the censuring of persons, altars, and other ornaments, of the Eucharist, and the carrying a censer or censers at the head of religious processions. And in order to do this, it is proposed to examine first of all the chief religions of antiquity which might have had any influence, either direct or indirect, upon Christian ceremonial, and find out how they used incense and other aromatic perfumes, and what was the motive underlying that use or uses. It is reasonable to suppose that the use of incense amongst Christians did not arise *de novo*, but that it was derived from, or at least suggested by, similar usages among the religions which the Church once for all surpassed and replaced. "Is there anything whereof it may be said: See, this is new? There is no new thing under the sun: it hath been already of old time which was before us." At anyrate we shall be better able to judge of the possibilities of such sources after our preliminary investigation.

Before going any further it will be as well to say a few words about incense itself. Using the term in its widest sense, it denotes certain gums and woods which, when heated or burned, give off a fragrant odour.¹ The chief of these

¹The Egyptians recognised fourteen kinds of *knē*, eleven of which were derived from the "incense." (Ed. Naville, *The Temple of Derr el Bahari* (Egyptian Exploration Fund, 1894) introductory memoir, p. 25).

was *olibanum* or frankincense, called in Hebrew *l'bhônâh*, and in Greek *λίβανος* or *λιβανωτός*, an exudation yielded by trees which belong to certain species of *Boswellia*. These flourish in the south-east portion of Arabia, the district of Hadramaut; and it is still collected by the Bedawîn of the Gara tribe and brought down to the port of Dofar for exportation.¹ At the present time the incense-tree is also largely met with on the opposite African coast, about Cape Guardafui in Somaliland. But the bulk at anyrate of the *olibanum* used in pre-Christian times came from southern Arabia²: it is constantly described as coming thence.³

Taking them in alphabetical order, we will continue with the rest of the fragrant gums and woods. Aloes, Heb. *'ahalym*, is the modern eaglewood, and has nothing to do with the bitter aloes of medicine. Dioscorides⁴ mentions that it was imported from India and Arabia, and that it was used for incense instead of *olibanum*. This wood comes from some tree or trees of the genus *Aquilaria*, such as *A. Agallochum*. In the Old Testament it is specially spoken of in connection with the perfuming of clothes and beds.⁵ Bdellium, Heb. *b'dhôlah*, of which there were two or three sorts, appears to be the resin derived from plants of the genus *Balsamodendron*.

¹ See an interesting article by J. Theodore Bent, in the *Nineteenth Century* for October, 1895: pp. 595 sq. In giving this brief account of the spices and incenses, I have usually followed the several articles dealing with the same in *Encyclopaedia Biblica*.

² Arrian, *Hist. Ind.*, cap. 41, speaks of a small town near the mouth of the Euphrates, whither Arabian merchants brought frankincense and other spices for sale in Babylonia.

³ Herodotus, *Thalia*, III: cap. 107. C. Plinius Secundus, *Hist. Nat.*, Lib. XII: cap. xiv. Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca Historiae*, Lib. V: § 41: Amstelodami, 1746; t. j, p. 364. Strabo, *Rerum Geographicarum Libri*, Amstelodami, 1707; p. 1124, says that Arabia, the land of the Sabaeans, gives incense, myrrh, cinnamon, etc. On p. 1129, he says that some say that the greater part of it comes from India, the best coming from Persia: but others say from Arabia Felix. Ammianus Marcellinus, Lib. XXIII: cap. vj; § 45. *Cnf.* P. Vergilius Maro, *Georgica*, Lib. I: l. 57. Heliodorus Aethiopica, Lib. X: cap. xxvj; *ap.* G. A. Hirschig, *Erotici Scriptores*, Parisijs, 1856; p. 403.

⁴ Dioscorides, Lib. III: cap. xxij.

⁵ See p. 67.

The sweet calamus or cane of the English version of the Old Testament, Heb. *kâneh*, came to the Jews "from a far country," and was costly.¹ Some identify it with *Axorus calamus* or some similar reed : others refer it to some species of *Cinnamomum*. Cassia is used in the Old Testament to translate two Hebrew words *kidah* and *kašiy'ôh*, both of which refer to some kind of cassia-bark, *i.e.* of some species of *Cinnamomum* other than *C. Zeylanicum*, which is the source of the true cinnamon. Some authors, however, think that the *kinâmôn* of the ancients was obtained from *C. Cassia*, and was an export from South China. The source of galbanum, Heb. *helb'nâh*, is uncertain : the modern commercial product of that name is chiefly derived from *Ferula galbaniflua* and *F. rubricaulis*, and is a resin which exudes from the stem of those umbelliferous plants. Persia is the only country which sends us galbanum now ; but Dioscorides and Theophrastus speak of the resin as a Syrian product.²

Ladanum, Heb. *lôt*, is a resin yielded by some species of *Cistus*. Herodotus³ and Pliny⁴ call it an Arabian product. It is also said to have been a product of Syria. The Yahwist⁵ mentions it amongst the perfumes and spices which the Ishmaelites were conveying from Gilead down to Egypt : and the name *lâdan* is found in inscriptions on two square-shaped censers⁶ from Thon in South Arabia.

The myrrh of the ancient world is generally identified with that of modern times, the resin of *Balsamodendron Myrrha*. But there is reason to think that the *môr* of the Bible was not this, but a liquid, derived from *B. opobalsamum*,

¹ Jeremiah vj. 20. Isaiah xlvj. 24. Sextus Aurelius Propertius, Lib. III : Elegia 8j, l. 3. describes it as an Arabian product.

² Dioscorides, Lib. III : cap. lxxxj. Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.*, Lib. IX : cap. vij : § 2.

³ Herodotus, *Thalia*, III : cap. 112. Dioscorides, Lib. I : cap. 123, says from Cyprus, but that an inferior quality also came from Lybia and Arabia.

⁴ C. Plinius Secundus, *Hist. Nat.*, Lib. xxvj : cap. viij.

⁵ Genesis xxxvij, 25.

⁶ J. H. Mordtmann und D. H. Muller, *Sabai che Denkmäler*, Wien, 1883 : pp. 81, 84.

Balsam of Mecca. The modern myrrh gives, when burnt, rather a nauseous odour : though this would not be any real argument against the more usual identification, as tastes in perfumes have varied as much as tastes in dress.¹ Onycha, Heb. *š'héleth*, is the operculum of some (probably several) species of marine molluscs. Several are known which are used for perfuming at the present day amongst the Arab-women. Stacte, Heb. *nâtâph*, was some resin of pleasant odour, but it is not certain what it really denoted. The storax² of Dioscorides and Pliny is *Styrax officinalis*, and it exudes a gum which was largely used by the ancients for incense : that of modern commerce is the product of *Liquidambar orientale*. *Nêkôth*, which is translated storax in the margin of R.V. in Gen. xxxvij, 25, xliij, 11, is probably tragacanth, the resinous gum of *Astragalus gummifer*.

Besides these, certain other substances are used for perfuming by cremation at the present time. Benzoin, imported from Siam and Sumatra, is obtained by making incisions in the bark of *Styrax Benzoin*, and other species of that genus. Storax is a semifluid balsam prepared from the inner bark of *Liquidambar orientale*. Cascarilla bark is imported from the Bahamas : it is the dried bark of *Croton eluteria*, and gives off a very fragrant odour when burnt.

§ II—*Egyptian*

It was at one time believed that Moses, at the direction of Almighty God, first brought in the use of incense in public worship, and that the other nations of antiquity copied the practice from him.³ No one, of course, thinks so now ;

¹ C. Plinius Secundus, *Hist. Nat.*, Lib. XIII : cap. iv : "Vestes prorogant tempus : unguenta illico expirant, ac suis moriuntur horis."

² Dioscorides, Lib. I : cap. lxvij. Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.*, Lib. IX : cap. vij : § 3. C. Plinius Secundus, *Hist. Nat.*, Lib. xij : cap. xvij.

³ Cornelius van Steen (a Lapide), *Comment. in Levit.*, cap. ij, verb. *Et fecit thus* : *In Pentateuch Mosis*, Antverpiæ, 1623 : p. 654.

Porphyrius says that a race inhabiting the Nile regions, an immeasurable time ago, ἤρξατο πρῶτον ἀφ' ἐστίας τοῖς οὐρανίοις θεοῖς θύειν, οὐ σμύρνης, οὐδὲ κασίης καὶ λιβαρωτοῦ κρόκῳ μυχθέντων ἀπαρχάς,

but we may begin our investigation of this question by seeing what was done in Egypt, the country whence Moses led the Children of Israel. The usual date given for the Exodus is the reign of Mer-en-Ptah, son of Râ-messu the Great, about twelve hundred years before the Incarnation; but considerable doubt is thrown on this by a text recording an expedition into Syria in the fifth year of that King, in which it is stated that "the people of Israel is spoiled, it has no crops," showing that the Israelites were already in occupation of Palestine at that time.¹ But even if the Exodus took place some five hundred years earlier, the Egyptians did not learn the use of incense from Moses.

The incense producing country was known to the people of Egypt as Pûn-t, and the Divine Land; and thither an expedition was sent in the time of King Assâ, Tēṭ-ka-Râ (circ. 3580-3536 B.C.) and the products of the country were brought back.² This is the earliest of which we have any record; but, of course, that does not prove that it was the first. Some years later, in the reign of Meḥti-em-sa-f, Mer-en-Râ (c. 3447-3443) there was another expedition to the countries in the south-east, whence were brought back 300 asses laden with incense, ebony, leopards' skins, elephants' teeth, etc.

So far, however, we have only information that incense of various kinds was brought from Pûn-t to Egypt; and although there is no reasonable doubt that it was for use in divine worship, still our texts do not say so. In the Wâdi Hammâmât there is an inscription of a priest of Min, Antef by name, who was sent to Reḥennu to bring back hard stone.

quoting Theophrastus. At first men offered leaves of plants, later on scented woods: at the introduction of perfumes in sacrifice the ancients imprecated curses on those who forsook the old custom for the new, hence these incenses were termed ἀρόματα from ἀρόμα to imprecate a curse on anyone (*De abstinentia ab esu animalium*, Lib. II: cap. v: Traiecti ad Rhenum, 1767: pp. 106 sq.).

¹ W. M. Flinders Petrie, *History of Egypt*, London, 1903 6: iij, 114.

² Flinders Petrie, *History of Egypt*, i, 100. Egypt Exploration Fund, *Archaeological Report*, 1893-94: p. 29.

³ Egypt Exploration Fund, *Archaeological Report*, 1893-94: p. 19. Flinders Petrie, *History of Egypt*; j, 99.

After seeking for it for eight days and finding none, he despairingly threw himself on his face and prayed to Min, Mût, Urt-ḥekau, and all the gods of the desert, and offered incense to them. The next day he searched again, and found what he sought.¹ This happened in the days of Amen-em-hât I, Se-hotep-âb-Râ (c. 2778-2748). A Petersburg papyrus² of a shipwrecked merchant, who, being washed ashore to a strange island, encountered a tall being whom he took to be some divinity of the place, and endeavoured to placate him, saying : " I will cause to be brought to thee all the sacred oil *Ab*, and frankincense, and cassia, and incense, such as is set aside for the temple use and wherewith the gods are honoured." It was the Prince of Pûn-t ; and after further conversation he sent the merchant home with presents of myrrh, the oil *heken*, frankincense and cassia, of the woods *tešepes* and *ša'as*, of panther skins, of much common incense, of elephants' teeth, *Guf* and *Kiu* monkeys, and all manner of other precious things.

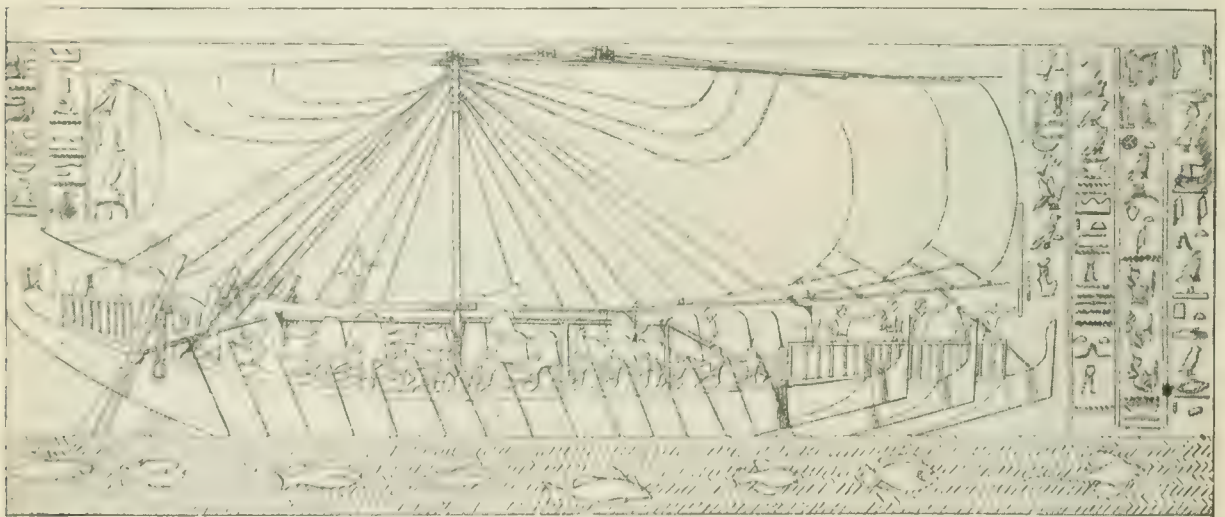
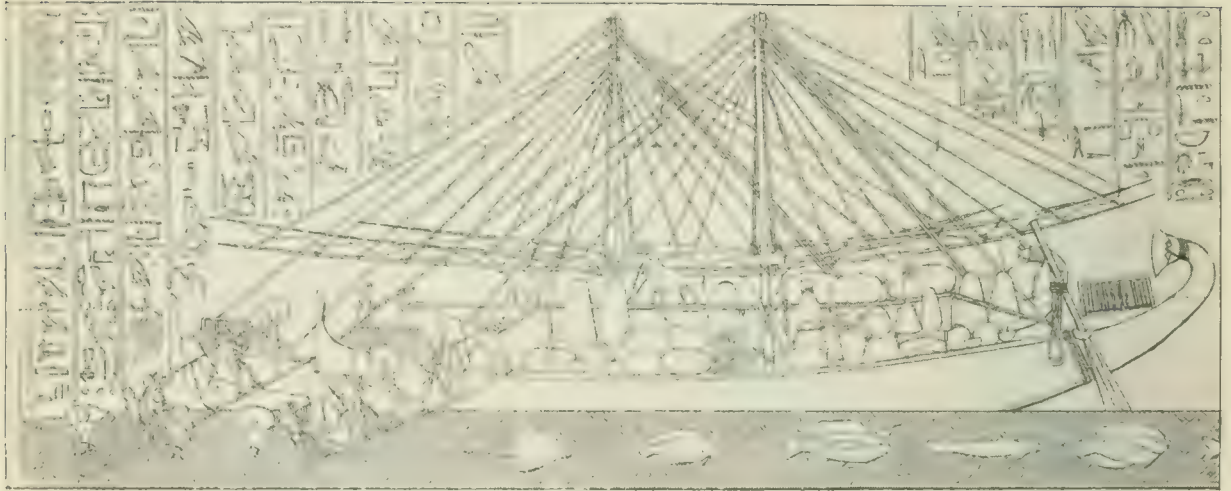
It is quite clear now that Moses was not the first to use incense as an offering to the Deity : still more so, that the Egyptians did not borrow the practice from the Hebrews.

Let us go back to the expeditions to Pûn-t. The chief document of the reign of S-ânḥ-ka-Râ records one of these,³ dated the eighth year of his reign, (c. 2778). The route lay across the desert from Koptos to the Red Sea, through the valley of Hammâmât, where the inscription which tells us about it was found. The force consisted of 3000 soldiers drawn from the country south of Thebes, they being better able to stand the heat than the more northern men ; it was commanded by Henu. Elaborate precautions were adopted for supplying the troops with water throughout the desert march. On reaching the coast, they were shipped on board transports, and sailed to Pûn-t. Thence they brought back

¹ W. M. Flinders Petrie, *History of Egypt*, London, 1903 ; vol. j, p. 151.

² Adolf Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, transl. H. M. Tirard, London, 1894 ; pp. 508-09.

³ Flinders Petrie, *History of Egypt*, j, 141. Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, 506.



Egyptian Boats being loaded and returning home with incense trees.

From *A Dictionary of the Bible*, ed. Dr. J. Hastings, supplementary vol. p. 364.

By permission of Messrs. T. & T. Clark.

incense and myrrh and other valuable products of the Divine Land. But the most famous of all the various expeditions is that commemorated on the walls of the temple of Dêr-el-Bahri,¹ founded by the queen Hât-šepsut, the wife of Tahuti-mes II, Âa-heper-en-Râ. It was made in the ninth year of that king (c. 1507). In the pictures Tahuti-mes is shown offering incense before the bark of Âmen-Râ, which is carried by twenty-four priests and two high priests. In others the various products of the expedition are being weighed and measured out. Not only *kamy* and *âham* incense, cassia, *tešep* wood, ivory and electrum, but skins and animals were brought back; and one picture shows ships being laden with growing incense-trees, planted in tubs or baskets.

The reign of Tahuti-mes III, Men-heper-ka-Râ, (c. 1503-1449 B. C) was signalised, after the death of his aunt and mother-in-law, Hât-šepsut, by a series of victorious campaigns which raised the Egyptian power to its zenith. The annals of his reign are full and considerable; and they throw a bright light on the state and prosperity of Syria at that time. He enforced a heavy annual tribute from the conquered peoples, besides the plunder taken after their defeat.

From the land of T'ahai the spoils included incense, balsam, and honey; the tribute of the chiefs of the Ruṭennu amongst numerous other valuables included jars of incense; that of the land of Pûn-t consisted of frankincense and

¹ Flinders Petrie, *History of Egypt*, ij, 82-5. *Records of the Past*, series I, vol. 8, pp. 13-84. G. Maspero, *The Struggle of the Nations*, London, 1896; pp. 251-2. Ed. Naville, *The Temple of Deir-el Bahari*, Egyptian Exploration Fund, 1898: pt. iij, pl. lxxiv, incense trees are carried ashore: pl. lxxviii, they are planted in the garden of Âmen: pl. lxxix, measuring out the heaps of incense from Pûn-t: pl. lxxxxij, Tahutimes offers pots full of incense to Âmen-Râ. There had not been an expedition for many years before this: Âmen-Râ tells Hâtšepsut, "The Divine Land had never been explored: the harbours of incense had never been seen by the men of Egypt; it had been heard of from mouth to mouth through the sayings of the ancestors; its good things were brought, they were brought to thy fathers, the Kings of Lower Egypt, one after the other since the age of the forefathers, and to the Kings of Upper Egypt who were before, in exchange for large payments: nobody had reached them except thy messenger" (*Ibid.*, p. 19).

other gums together with numerous other products, animals, and slaves. From Naharina (Mesopotamia) came incense-jars amongst the rest of the tribute, as from other Syrian countries. The Šâsu (Arabs), too, were made to supply incense, *beḳ* oil and other products of their land. The total amount of incense thus obtained was enormous. The inscription gives accounts of the sacrifice of incense and other offerings to the gods.¹

In the time of Taḥuti-mes I, Âa-heper-Râ, (c. 1541—1516), a hymn to Âusâr (Osiris) runs: ² oblation to Âusâr, living in the West, Lord of Âbṭu: may he allow funeral gifts, bread, liquor, oxen, geese, clothes, incense, oil, all kinds of vegetation, to make the transformations. A later one, of the time of Mer-en-Ptaḥ (c. 1234-1214) tells us that

Offerings are made to every god,
As they are made unto the Nile.
Incense ascends unto Heaven,
Oxen, bulls, and fowls are burnt.³

Special offerings of incense were made at the great festivals: we hear of them for instance in the Annals of Taḥuti-mes III,⁴ and again in those of Râ-messu III, User-maât-Râ.⁵ The latter king tells the gods and us that he “made the great festival offerings of incense, etc.” To the god Ptaḥ he says: “I brought to thee numerous tributes of white gum to go round thy abode, with scent of Pûn-t to thy noble nostrils⁶ in the morning.” “I planted trees of frankincense⁷ and gums in thy very noble dromos in Sebeh-sebak.”

The inscription of Pânḥy Mery-Âmen (c. 730) describes

¹ *Records of the Past*, Series I, vol. ij, pp. 21 sq. Flinders Petrie, *History of Egypt*, ij, 110 sq.

² *Records of the Past*, Series I, vol. iv, p. 103.

³ *Records of the Past*, Series I, vol. iv, p. 113.

⁴ *Records of the Past*, Series I, vol. ij, pp. 53, 54.

⁵ Flinders Petrie, *History of Egypt*, iij, 154. *Records of the Past*, Series I, vol. vj, pp. 17 sq; vol. viij, pp. 7 sq, 12 sq.

⁶ *Records of the Past*, Series I, vol. vj, p. 31.

⁷ *Records of the Past*, Series I, vol. viij, p. 13.

[To face p. 11.]



The King of Egypt
offering incense in
pot-shaped censers.



The King of Egypt
offering incense and pour-
ing a libation, showing a
long-handled censer.

From *Life in Ancient Egypt*, Dr. Adolf Eiman, by permission of
Messrs. Macmillan & Co., Ltd.

for us the ceremonies observed by the king when he visited the temple of Râ, the Sun-god at Annu (*Heliopolis*),¹ after the sack of Men-nefer (*Memphis*). He made a great sacrifice on the sandhill there, before the face of Râ at his rising; milch-cows, milk, odorous gums (*ânti*), frankincense, and all precious woods delightful for scent. Next he went in procession to the temple of Râ, where the *her-heb* priest (*i.e.* the reciter) offered up supplications to ward off calamity from the king, performing the rite of lustration girded with the sacred vestments. He then purified the King with incense, and sprinkling, and brought to him garlands from the temple of Obelisks; after which the King went up alone to the great shrine "to behold Râ."

The annals of Râ-messu III tell us in like manner of enormous quantities of incense and fragrant gums which were devoted to the use of the temple.²

The usual manner of burning incense was in censers shaped like cups or pans with a long handle. Representations of this kind of censers are very common in Egyptian pictures.³ There are also representations of a censer without a handle, standing upon a table or altar, in which incense is burning for the god.⁴ In other cases the censer is a small pot held in the hand.⁵

Herodotus gives us an account of the manner of sacrificing animals amongst the Egyptians of his time (c. 450 B.C.). After slaughtering the beast, they stuffed its body with

¹ Alfred Wiedemann, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, London, 1907: p. 21. *Records of the Past*, Series I, vol. ij, pp. 96-7. Flinders Petrie, *History of Egypt*, iij, 274.

² *Records of the Past*, Series I, vol. vj, p. 29 sq.

³ Ed. Naville, *The Festival Hall of Osorkon II*, Egyptian Exploration Fund, 1892; pl. iv. bis, n. 13; pl. ix, n. 7; pl. xiiij, n. 5. For a photograph of an actual censer, see Wm. Flinders Petrie, *Denderah*, Egypt Exploration Fund, 1900; p. 34, and plate xxiv, n. 9.

⁴ E. A. W. Budge, *The Book of the Dead (Papyrus of Hu-nefer, Anhai, Khera-heh, and Nechehmet)*, British Museum, 1899: p. 23, and plate 2 of the papyrus of Anhai: showing an altar before the god Nemuyt, on which stands a vessel of burning incense.

⁵ E.g. Edouard Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari*, Egyptian Exploration Fund, 1895; pt. j, plate xxiiij: pt. ij, pl. xxviii.

clean bread, honey, raisins, figs, frankincense, myrrh, and other aromatics. Thus filled, they burned the body, pouring over it great quantities of oil.¹

At Saïs, he tells us that throughout the day incense burned before an image of a cow, and by night a lamp. This wooden cow was covered with gold, and hollow. Inside, so Herodotus was told, was the body of the daughter of a former king, Mycerinus.²

Plutarch³ states that the Egyptians burnt incense thrice daily to the Sun: of resin at its rising, of myrrh at noon-day, and of kyphi at its setting. This last was a mixture of sixteen ingredients, including honey, wine, grapes, various odoriferous reeds, bitumen, and other scented substances.

Probably connected with its use in divine worship was the burning of incense before the Pharaoh in the so-called coronation procession. The king was regarded, at any rate in later times, as a demi-god, although sacrifices were not offered to him so long as he lived⁴ until late. The first recorded instance of this occurs c. 1400 B.C., when Amen-hotep III, Neb-maât-Râ, sacrificed to himself or his *ka*; but this, it should be noted, did not take place on Egyptian soil.⁵ Pharaoh was sometimes⁶ called "the good god."

The ceremony of the procession above referred to is depicted in the rock temple at Silsileh,⁷ and on the tomb of

¹ Herodotus, *Euterpe*, II: cap. 40.

² Herodotus, *Euterpe*, II: cap. pp. 129-132. This was Men-kau-Râ, c. 3845-3784.

³ Plutarch, *de Iside et Osiride*, capp. 52, 80.

⁴ Adolf Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, London, 1894: pp. 56-58, 290. Pharaoh - per âa = House Great.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 58. Alfred Wiedemann, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians* London, 1897; p. 176.

⁶ Erman, 56-58. In the Vatican is a head of a statue with the name of "the good god Mentu-hotep" (Petrie, *History of Egypt* j, 144): There were three kings of this name, of the eleventh Dynasty. Ed. Naville, *Bubastis*, Egyptian Exploration Fund, 1891; p. 23.

⁷ C. R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Ägypten*, Berlin, 1849-1859; Abt. iij, Bl. 121 a.

Râ-messu III at Medînet Hâbû, Thebes.¹ In both cases the Pharaoh is borne on a canopied throne, surrounded by various priests and offices of state carrying sceptres and other ensigns ; and incense is burned in longhandled censers by priests stepping backwards before him. In the former instance, representing Râ-ser-heperu, Heru-em-heb, (1332-1328) only one priest is represented as censing the king : before Râ-messu III there are two. We shall see, as we go on, that this ceremony was known to other nations as well, with more or less modification. The custom is particularly interesting to us, as it at once reminds us of the practice of carrying a smoking censer before the celebrant of high mass on his way to the altar. At the same time, it is quite unlikely that the Catholic Church adopted this practice directly from the Egyptians.

In the formal worship of the god, indwelling in his statue, there was considerable use of incense. As a preliminary, before the shrine containing the deity was opened, the priest censed the chapel wherein the shrine was situate. He thus created a divine atmosphere, suitable for the god. Then the shrine was opened and as soon as the priest saw the image of the god he used to "kiss the ground, throw himself entirely on his face, kiss the ground with his face turned downwards, offer incense," and then greet the god with a short psalm.²

The importance of the incense-offering may be gauged from the existence of an official known as "Chief of the House of Incense, sealing the valuable sweets," a title found on the tomb of Aha-neht,³ "to whom were given the offerings of the Bedawin,⁴ frankincense and *hol* : "with

¹ J. G. Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, London, 1841 ; 2nd series, vol. iij, plate 76 (letter B, nn. 22, 15.) Adolf Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, 66.

² Adolf Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, 275 (The Theban rite).

³ F. L. Griffith and P. E. Newberry, *El Bersheh*, (Egypt Exploration Fund, Special Publication), pt. ij, p 41. Aha-neht belongs to the period of the eleventh dynasty (c. 3005-2778 B.C.) when well established.

⁴ *Ibid.* 46.

which may be compared the epithets,¹ "loved for (or loving) frankincense," found several times, and "sweet of incense."²

We now come to the funeral rites. The Egyptians conceived that a man had besides his earthly body, a spiritual body which was made up of several components, each of them capable, apparently, of existing apart from every other.³ First there was the *ka* or double, which could inhabit his mummy or his statue. The gods too had *kas* which dwelt in their statues. The *ka* was worshipped: it took pleasure in the scent of incense, and fed on the offerings, whether real, or painted on the walls of the tomb. The latter, through the prayers of the living, became real to the *ka*. Then there was the *ba*, or soul. This, too, fed on the incense and offerings: apparently it was immortal and divine, or god. But it needed the offerings and incense to sustain its life. Lastly, was the *haibit*, or shadow: this, too seems to have fed on the offerings and incense. There was, moreover, a *hu* or intelligence, a *sehem* or form, and a spiritual body or *sâh*.

The funeral rites and ceremonies were long and elaborate. Before that entitled "the opening of the mouth," by which the deceased was enabled to partake of the offering,⁴ was the purification by water and incense. The *her-heb* recited and the *sem* priest performed the ceremonial accompaniments. After the sprinkling with water the reciter⁵ went on to say: "Heru marcheth with his *ka*: Tahuti marcheth with his *ka* (*Repeat this four times, and burn incense*): Sep marcheth with his *ka*: Ausar marcheth with his *ka*: Hent-maâti marcheth with his *ka*: and thy *tet*⁶ shall march with

¹ *Ibid.*, 26, 48, 49, 52.

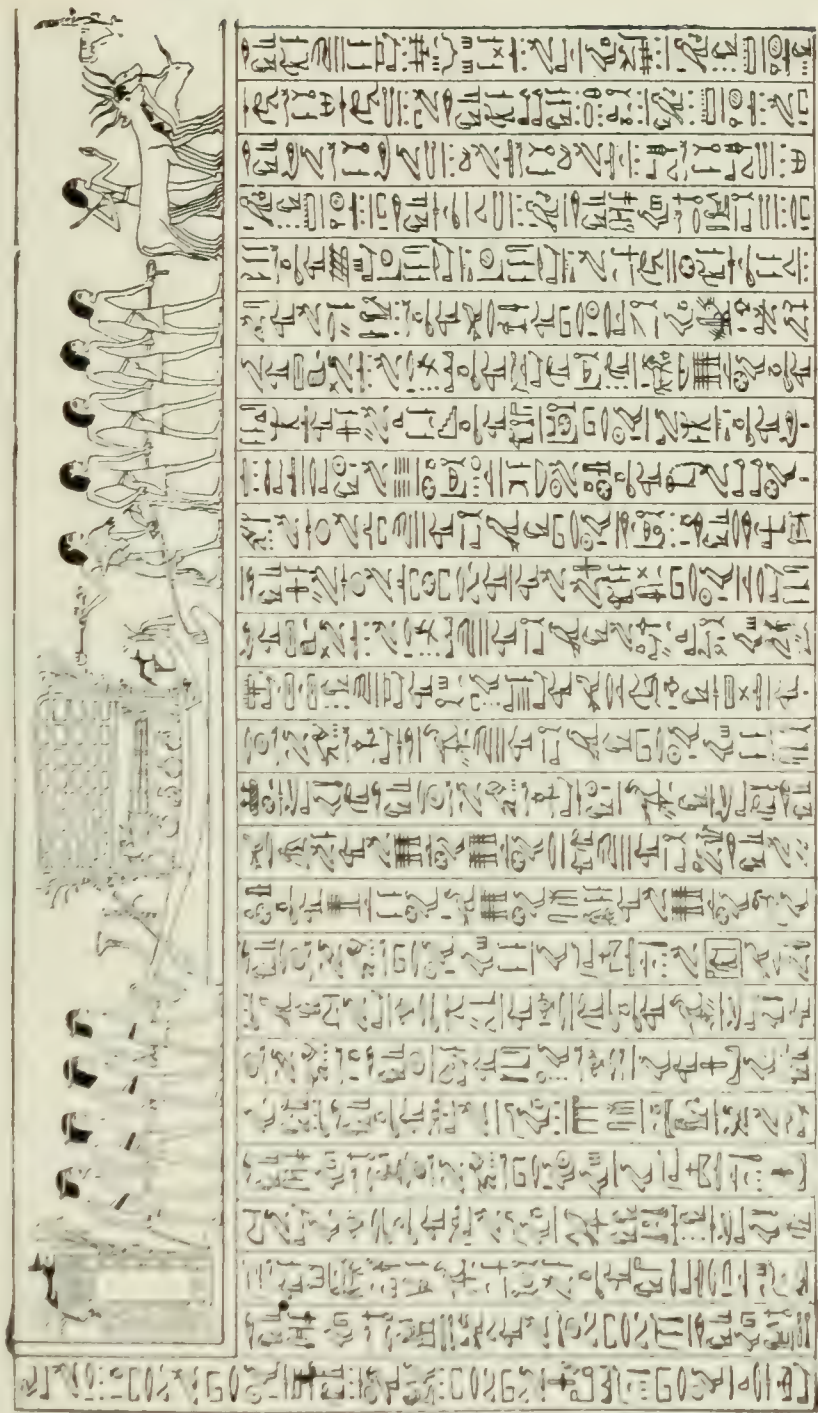
² *Ibid.*, 53. Relating to the great *Uab* priest, Tahuti-neht.

³ *The Book of the Dead, (Papyrus of Ani)*, Edit., E.A.W. Budge, British Museum, 1895; pp. lxij sq.

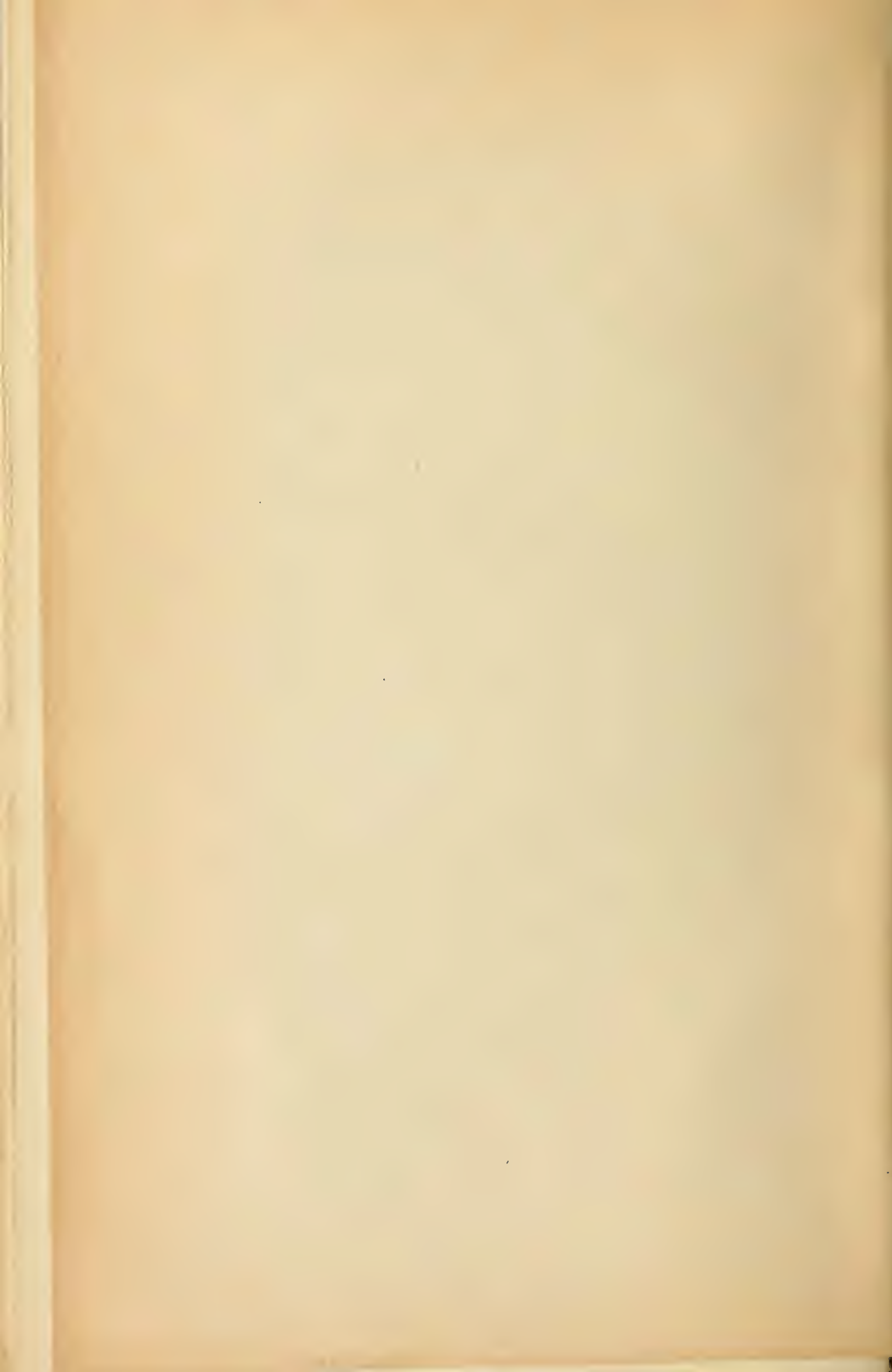
⁴ *Ibid.*, cxxxviii.

⁵ *Ibid.*, cxxxix.

⁶ On the significance of the *tet*, see E. A. W. Budge, *Egyptian Magic* London, 1899; p. 44: and A. Wiedemann, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, London, 1897; p. 289.



An Egyptian Funeral Procession. The *son* priest walks before the deceased, burning incense in a long-handled censer, and pouring libations.



thy *ka*." Later on the reciter says¹: "Āusār Unās, I have given thee the eye of Heru, and thy face is filled therewith, and the perfume thereof spreadeth over thee. The libations which are poured (*Here pour out fresh water and burn two portions of incense*) out by thy son, which are poured out by Heru, are for thee O Āusār, and they are for thee, O Unās." At a later stage the deceased is told to open his mouth and taste "the perfumes of the South" which the *sem* priest offers him.²

Here the preliminary censuring, like the sprinkling with water, has a purifying effect. But after the reading of "the chapter of the opening of the mouth" the deceased is able to enjoy the perfumes and the offerings.³ In another copy the Book of the Dead, the *her-heb*, after the purification and the opening of the mouth greets Hu-nefer's mummy thus: "Hail, Āusār Hu-nefer triumphant! incense hath been offered unto thee of the incense of Heru, and conversely," and similarly for the incense of the gods Tahuti, Sep, and Seb.⁴ But before all this incense had been offered to the mummy, and libations poured out before it, all through the procession to the tomb⁵; and these offerings seem to be of the nature of sacrifices to the deceased. As the Egyptians were neither very consistent, nor clear, in their theology, we may suppose that the opening of the mouth was a later rite, engrafted on the older, and that the seeming contradictions were never noticed.

The use of incense and other gums in the embalming process is obviously for preservative purposes: yet that, too, in late times, was looked upon as having purifying effects.

¹ *The Book of the Dead (Papyrus of Ani)*, cxxxix, cxl.

² *Ibid.*, cxl.

³ *Ibid.*, cxxxvij.

⁴ *The Book of the Dead (Papyri of Hu-nefer, Anhai, Kherasher, and Netchemet)*, Edit. E. A. Wallis Budge, British Museum, 1899; pp. 9, 17-18 (c. 1370 B.C.).

⁵ *E.g.* in *Ibid.* plate 6 Hu-nefer's mummy is being drawn along by oxen, and the *sem* priest, dressed in his panther skin, is burning incense and pouring libations. *Cf.* pp. 263-4 in the *Papyrus of Ani*.

In the "Book of Breathings" in the papyrus of Kêrâšer¹, the deceased is greeted: "Hail, Âusâr Kêršer! . . . Thy inward parts have been cleansed with *bet* incense, and natron."

This is more fully expressed in another papyrus of late date.² The deceased is addressed in the following terms: "The perfume of Arabia hath been brought to thee, to make perfect thy smell through the scent of the god. Here are brought to thee liquids which are come from Râ, to make perfect thy smell in the Hall of Judgment. O sweet-smelling soul of the great god, thou dost contain such a sweet odour that thy face shall neither change nor perish. Thy members shall become young in Arabia, and thy soul shall appear over thy body in Ta-neter." The subsequent anointing was said to make his members perfect.

We have a great many pictorial representations of the funeral ceremonies, and they are often described in texts.³ Thus, prince Hnem-hotep II, in the time of Amen-em-hât II (c. 2716-2681), takes credit to himself in that he

Caused to flourish the name of my father;
I established the chapels of his *kas*;
I conducted my statues to the temple;
I offered them their offerings—bread, beer, water-
libations, wine, incense, and pure flesh.⁴

The notion of purification in the funeral rites refers of course to cleansing from ceremonial defilement: but the disinfectant properties of incense were known to and utilized by the Egyptians. In the eighth century B.C., after the sack of Memphis, the king appointed men to purify the city with natron and frankincense,⁵ and the same act is recorded in a like case of Taharuka (*Tirhakah*, θ c. 668).⁶

A new temple was purified or consecrated with libations

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 39: from the Papyrus of Kêrâšer (late Ptolemaic, or Roman).

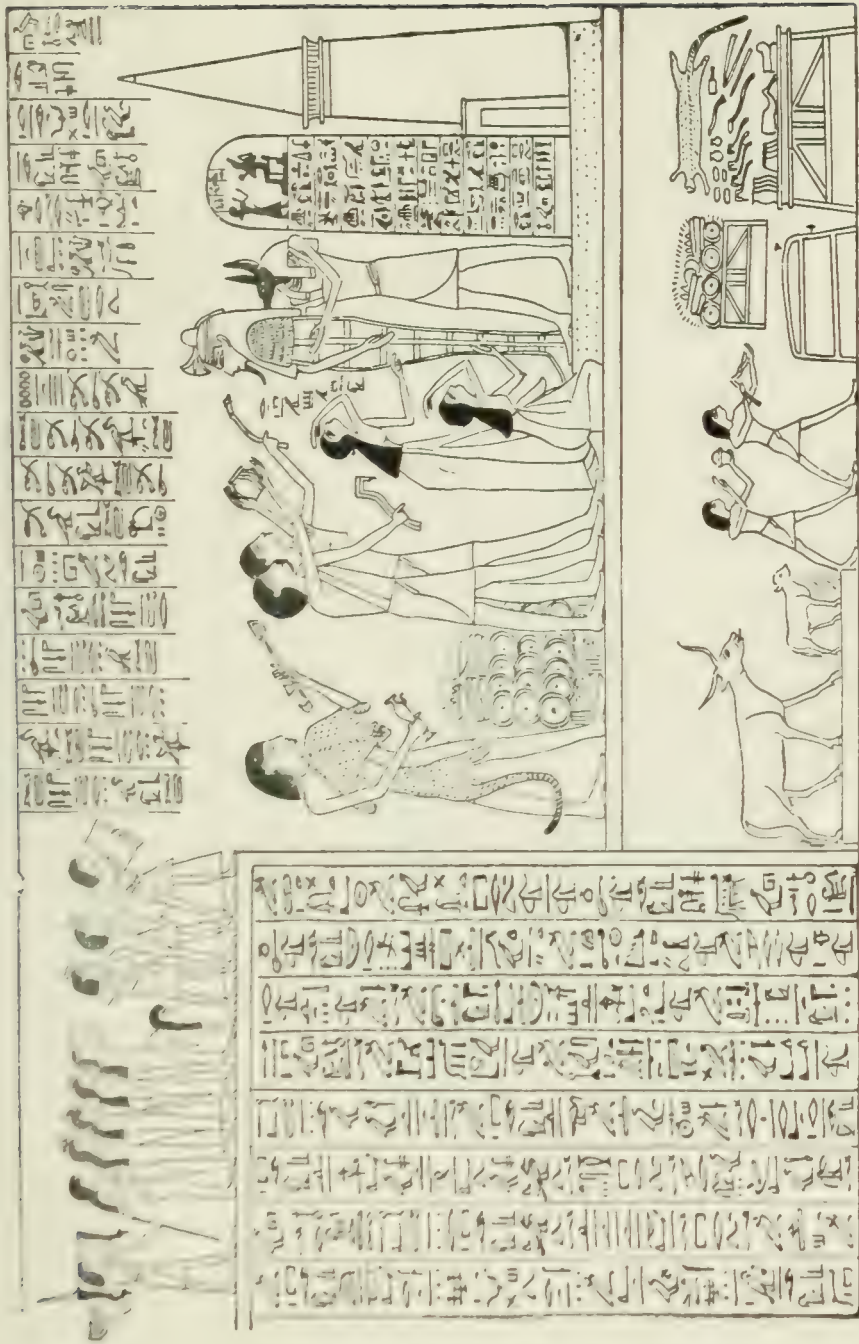
² E. A. W. Budge, *Egyptian Magic*, London, 1899; pp. 185 sq.

³ *E.g.* Plates 6 and 7 in *The Book of the Dead* (Papyrus of Hu-nefer) *Edit. supra cit.*

⁴ Egyptian Exploration Fund, *Beni Hasan*, 1893; pt. j, p. 61.

⁵ *Records of the Past*, Series I, vol. ij, p. 96.

⁶ *Records of the Past*, Series I, vol. ij, p. 96.



The Ceremony of "Opening the Mouth." The *sem* priest, wearing a panther-skin, holds a long-handled censer in his left hand, and a libation-vase in his right.

From the wall of the tomb of the Scribe, by permission of Messrs. Thos. Cook and Son.

[To face p. 17.]



The princess Ast, high priestess, offering incense.

From Flinders Petrie, *History of Egypt*, by permission of
Messrs. Methuen.

of water and wine, and with perfumes.¹ The combination of these three is interesting ; as in Christian times a similar usage was developed in the ceremonial of the Consecration of churches.

We must notice that the offering of incense was always made by a priest, and not by a lay person. The king was not only priest but a god as well,² so that he was no exception to the rule.

§ III—*Babylonian Assyrian and Persian*

Let us now turn to Babylonia. And what is said of the Babylonians holds good for their successors the Assyrians : for the religious system and the ritual and ceremonial of the later empire was inherited from the older. There were some differences in their pantheon : Bêl-Marduk was the chief god of Babylon, Ašur of the Assyrians, for instance ; but the ritual expression in worship was the same in both cases.

In the early Creation-story of the Babylonians, which appears to date from over 2,000 B.C., although the earliest document containing it is about 1500 years later, we are told that the hero, whose name is variously deciphered as Tsît-, Par-, or Šamaš-napištim, came out of the ark when the floods subsided, and built an altar and offered up sacrifice.

Then I brought all out unto the four winds, I offered an offering,
I made a libation (i.e. cereal offering) on the summit of the mountain,
By sevens I set out the vessels,
Under them I heaped up calamus, cedar-wood, and *rig-gir*.
The gods melt the savour ; the gods melt the sweet savour ;
The gods gathered like flies about him that offered the sacrifice.³

¹ *Records of the Past*, Series I, vol. vj, p. 75. (Coronation stele of Mer-ka-Râ, Aspeluta, c. 630-600 B.C.).

² Adolf Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, transl. by H. M. Tirard, London, 1894 ; pp. 56-58, 290. A. Wiedemann, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, London, 1897 ; p. 167.

³ L. W. King, *Babylonian Religion and Mythology*, London, 1899, p. 136. G. Maspero, *The Dawn of Civilization*, S.P.C.K., 1896 ; p. 570. *Transactions of Soc. Biblical Arch.*, 1873 ; ij, 223 ; iiij, 530. George Smith, *Assyrian Discoveries*, London, 1875 ; p. 191. A. H. Sayce, *Early Israel and the surrounding nations*, London, 1899 ; p. 31.

Rig-gir is translated by some as *incense*, by others as *storax*, and others again suggest *onycha*. At anyrate, they all agree that it was some substance which when burned gave off a fragrant odour, and may therefore be called by the generic term *incense*.

When the god Marduk was solemnly brought back from Elam to Babylon¹ there was a great sacrifice offered: "The heaven pours out its abundance, the earth its fulness, the sea its gifts, the mountains their produce: their incomparable offerings, everything that can be named, their heavy tribute do they bring to the Lord of all: Lambs are slaughtered, great oxen sacrificed in herds, the sacrifice is made rich, incense (*kuṭrinnu*) is prepared, a sweet smelling savour mounts up, delicious odour."

Kuṭrinnu seems to be the general term for incense, and is frequently mentioned as a material of sacrifices to the gods. It was compounded of sweet smelling herbs and scented woods.² Lustrations and purifications have a large place in Babylonian religion: and amongst the materials used for cleansing by fumigation are mentioned *erinnu*, cedar-wood, *kānu tābu*, calamus, *rig-gir* (which may be *onycha*), and *kuṭrinnu*. A tablet in the British Museum describes a method of ceremonial purification.³ The person to be purified takes hold of the priest, who pours water on his hand, lays incense on the dish and solemnly prepares the sacrificial meal. Then if he be a rich man, the person to be purified shall hand over a dove (?) to be offered as a burnt-offering; but if a pauper, the heart of a sheep. After certain acts which were regarded as entailing ceremonial impurity it was the custom for the doers to sit over pans of burning incense, and so fumigate⁴ themselves; and they also washed their hands. The same practice, accord-

¹ H.C. Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, iv, 22; translated by Dr. J. Jeremias in *Encyclopaedia Biblica* iv, 4119.

² J. Jeremias, *Ibid.*, 4116. Sargon offered frankincense to the gods and goddesses of Assyria c. 706 B.C. (*Records of the Past*, Series I, vol. vij, p. 55).

³ *Ibid.*, 4124.

⁴ Herodotus, *Clio*, I: cap. 198: ὁσάκις δ' ἂν μιχθῇ γυναῖκί τῇ ἑωυτοῦ ἀνὴρ βασιλεύωντος. περὶ θυμῖμα καταγίζμενον ἵζει· ἐτέρωθεν δέ ἢ γυνὴ τῶντ' οὗτοῦ ποιεῖ. Strabo, *Rerum Geograph.*, Lib. xvj: Oxford, 1807; t. ij, p. 1058.

ing to Herodotus, was also observed by the people of Arabia.¹

In the book of Baruch we read that the women-prostitutes sat in the roads, with cords about them, and burned bran for fumigation²: a custom which is always compared with the story told by Theocritus of a Syracusan maiden of the middle classes, one Simaetha, who in the course of a long magical ceremony burned bran to Hecate in order to regain her lover's affections.³

This brings us to the use of perfumes in magical ceremonies. In cases of "fever sickness" the priest purified the patient to drive away the disease-demon with water; incense and a light being at hand.

Cleanse then that man with pure water from the Deep
And wash him clean and
Bring near him a censer and a torch.⁴

Another tablet tells him:

The sick man thou shalt place
. thou shalt cover his face
Burn cypress and herbs (?)⁵

And again:—

Perform the Incantation of Eridu,
The kid whose heart thou hast taken out
Is *li'i* food with which thou shalt make an 'atonement'
for the man,
Bring forth a censer and a torch,
Scatter it in the street.⁶

¹ *Cnf.* Levit. xv, 18. Josephus, *Contra Apione*, Lib. II: cap. xxv, says that the Law ordains that the man and woman shall bathe themselves, for there is uncleanness contracted thereby both in soul and body, wherefore the Law requires this purification. *Cnf.* Atia in Suetonius Tranquillus, *Vita C. I. Caesaris Oct. Aug.*, cap. xciv.

² Baruch vj, 43. *Cnf.*, for the women waiting by the roadside, Herodotus, j, 199.

³ Theocritus, *Idyllia*, ij, *Pharmaceutria* l. 18. And compare Vergil's *Sparge molem* in *Ecloga* VIII, l. 82.

⁴ R. Campbell Thompson, *The Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia*, London, 1904; vol. ij, p. 17.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

The perfumes have a purificatory effect :—

With on his bed cover him and
 with a censer cleanse, with a censer purify.
 And burn thereon oil of balsam (?), oil of cedar,
 Honey and butter, and
 Perform the Incantation of Eridu.¹

The cure of a headache was performed in the following manner :—

Fashion a figure of him in dough,
 Put water upon the man and
 Pour forth the water of the Incantation ;
 Bring forth a censer and a torch,
 As the water trickleth away from his body,
 So may the pestilence in his body trickle away.²

In the story of Prince Saif el Malûk and the Princess Bedîyat el Jemâl³ it is told how when the prince fell sick, the physicians prescribed medicines, and wrote charms, and censed Saif el Malûk with aloeswood and ambergris for three days: the evident intention of the two latter processes being to drive away the disease demon.

The author of Isaiah lxx, 3, describes the Babylonians⁴ as a people “that sacrificeth in gardens, and burneth incense upon bricks.”

When Alexander the Great captured Babylon in 331, we are told that while most of the inhabitants stood on the walls to have a look at the new king, a large number went out to meet him, amongst whom was Bagophanes the royal treasurer. This creature, not to be outdone by any one in obsequiousness, caused the whole route along which Alexander was to pass to be adorned with garlands of flowers, and set up altars on either side of the way on which were heaped not only incense⁵ but every other kind of perfumes.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

² *Ibid.*, p. 109.

³ *The Book of the Thousand Nights and one Night*, translated by John Payne for the Villon Society, 1884; vol. vij, p. 105. *Cnf.* the Hindû custom described by J. Roberts, *Oriental Illustrations*, London, 1844; pp. 375-76.

⁴ J. Jeremias in *Encyclopædia Biblica*, iv, 4124, refers to Khors. 172: Sarg. Ann. 434: H. C. Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, iv, 49; 53.

⁵ Quintus Curtius Rufus, *De rebus gestis Alexandri Magni regis Macedonum*, Lib. v: cap. j: § 20.

This may be compared with the reception of the Princess Dunyâ at the capital of the Lord of the Green Country¹: there were great rejoicings, and "fragrant odours breathed around till they reached the gate of the palace." And after her marriage to Tâj el Malûk,² "they gave largesse of money and sweetmeats, and burnt perfumes, and sprinkled essences."

In the great temple Ê-sagila at Babylon, whose chief god was Bêl-Marduk, there was a large seated statue of that deity, before which was a table forty feet long by fifteen wide according to a late Greek author; and both statue and table were of solid gold. On the table before Marduk were set two bowls to hold flour, like the Hebrew shew-bread; two censers each weighing 300 talents; and three golden drinking-bowls for wine.³ Outside were two altars: a lesser one, on which only sucklings were offered, which was made of gold; and a larger one, for full grown animals. Every year, at the annual festival of Bêl-Marduk, a hundred talents weight of incense, we are told⁴, was burnt upon this larger altar. Herodotus records that the Arabians paid an annual tribute to Babylon of the same weight of incense, in the time of Dârayavauš son of Vištâspa (Darius Hystaspis).⁵

The day of Dumuzi (Tammuz) is spoken of as a time when male and female mourners made lamentation, and incense was burnt for the dead.

On the day of Tammuz play for me,
Together all the professional dirge-singer play for me,
That the dead may rise, and inhale the incense of the offering.⁶

¹ *The Book of the Thousand Nights and one Night*, translated by James Payne for the Villon Society, 1332; vol. ij, p. 214.

² *Ibid.*, 300.

³ Herodotus, *Clio*, I: cap. 181. Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliothecæ Historiæ Lib. ij*, Lib. ij: 49.

⁴ Herodotus, *Clio*, I: cap. 133. ⁵ Herodotus, *Thalia*, III: cap. 97.

⁶ Morris Jastrow, *Religions of Babylonia and Assyria*, Boston, U.S.A. 1897; p. 575. Incense seems to have been burned with the body; and has been found in some tombs at Zergu and el Hebla dating back to c. 2500 B.C. (J. P. Peters, *Nippur*, Knickerbocker Press, 1897: ij, 233).

These sacrifices to the spirits of the dead may be compared with the "great burnings" which the Jews made for some of their kings when deceased.

The Persians, whose chief god was Ahura-Mazda, used perfumes freely in their later worship¹; and this practice is still conserved by the modern representatives of the religion of Zaratuštra, the Parsîs.

It is recorded that a great bridge was thrown across the Hellespont by the Persian army to effect their passage of the straits, on the way to Greece: and whilst awaiting sunrise they burned all manner of incense on the bridge, and strewed the way with branches of myrtle. When the sun rose, Hšayâršâ (485-464), or Xerxes as the Greeks called him, poured a libation into the sea out of a golden vial, probably as a propitiatory offering to the sea-deity.² Later on, when the news of the occupation of the Athens reached Šušân,³ we are told that the inhabitants strewed the streets with myrtle, burned incense and offered sacrifices in their joy.

When Datis the Mede came to Delos after the sack of Naxos, he offered up three hundred talents of incense on the altars of the temple there, in honour of the two divinities of the island. This, however, does not necessarily imply that incense was a recognised mode of sacrifice in the land of his birth and home.⁴

The monuments at Persepolis, the old capital of Persia proper, and the coins of the Sassanian dynasty frequently picture the king offering incense. The Parsîs at the present time offer it five times a day.⁵

We may here mention the account of a procession in the

¹ In earlier times it would appear from Herodotus (*Clio*, I, 131-2) that the Persians sacrificed in high-places, mountain tops, without altars or fires, libations or cakes; simply killing the victim, letting the gods have the life, and feeding themselves on the body.

² Herodotus, *Polymnia*, VII: cap. 54.

³ *Ibid.*, *Urania*, VIII: cap. 99.

⁴ *Ibid.*, *Evato*, VI: cap. 97. Apparently Dârayavauš recognised some affinity between his own god Mithra, and Apollo and Artemis; for this offering was by his special orders, as was the sack of Naxos, and the sparing of Delos.

⁵ *Encyclopaedia Britannica* under *Incense*.

apocryphal acts of St. Thomas. The story goes that the apostle was taken at his own suggestion to the temple of the sun in order to prove that the sun-god was powerless against the god of the Christians. There accompanied him maidens singing to their lyres, others with flutes, others with drums, and others with censers (*cum vatillis et turibulis*). He then exorcised the demon out of the image of the sun-god, and destroyed it.¹ The scene is Persia, but the whole work is late and of little value.

In Babylonia the old customs continued after the Persian conquest; and there does not seem to have been any attempt to interfere with the modes of worship of the conquered peoples in Asia on the part of the Persian rulers. Herodotus² considered that the Persians were, of all the nations wherewith he had acquaintance, the most ready to adopt foreign customs and practices, in support of which he gives several examples. It was this tendency to absorb extraneous usages which let their conquered peoples retain their old religions; and led the Persians to borrow forms of worship and deities from the Assyrians and Arabs.

Some traces of ancient Babylonian influence are to be observed amongst the curious people known as the Yezîdîs, or devil-worshippers: of whom Mr. G. P. Badger says that there can be little doubt that they are of the same stock as the Kurds, and descendants of the ancient Assyrians. They designate their god by the names of Yezd, and Shêkh Adi; and the evil principle Melek Taûs,³ of which the sacred bird or *Senjak* is a type. The *Senjaks*, of which there are seven, are carried about in Yezîdî districts.⁴ The appearance of this image is welcomed with alacrity, and the

¹ *Abdiae Babyloniae episcopi et Apostolorum discipuli de historia certaminis apostolici libri decem, Julio Africano . . . interprete*, Lib. IX, Basileae, ex officina Joan. Oporini, 1552; p. 110. A late western writer of the six century, but he worked on the old apocryphal Syriac *Acta Apostolorum*.

² Herodotus, *Clio*, I: capp. 131, 135.

³ G. P. Badger, *The Nestorians and their Rituals*, London, 1852; vol. j, p. 109. *Cuf.* Deuteron. iv, 17.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 127.

honour of housing it in any place to which it comes is accorded to the highest bidder. This *Senjak* consists of a brazen stand with two lamps one above the other, and the cock topmost of all: each lamp has seven burners. It is also noteworthy that the sceptre engraved on the front of the temple of Shêkh Adi has seven branches. Mr. Badger witnessed one of these processions of the *Senjak*. It was accompanied with the noise of pipes and tambourines, and two censers were carried before the *Senjak*, and waved to and fro so that they filled the air with the odour of the incense. As they passed along, the bystanders bowed themselves in adoration, muttering some indistinct sentences the meanwhile, and immersed their hands in the smoke, with which they perfumed their arms and faces.¹

The Yezîdîs venerate certain *shaks*, or large tombs, which they sometimes affirm to have been erected over the burial-places of their so-called *shékhs*; and in those to which a room is attached (as in the case of that dedicated to Shêkh Muḥammad at Ba-Sheaka) the *Karwâls* or sacred musicians assemble at sunset every Tuesday and Thursday, when they burn incense over the tomb, and after watching a short time and smoking their pipes, return home.²

These *Karwâls* chant hymns at their funerals, and incense is burned in the procession from the house to the grave. Parties of mourners for several days visit the grave, women to weep and mourn, men to burn incense and watch.³

In this connection one may cite a charm in use among the Nestorians to excite love in a man towards a woman, which Mr. Badger gives in his work on that people. "I ascend seven mountains, and descend into seven valleys, and I saw there a tree of frankincense, and I conjure with awful oaths that as incense burns in the fire, even so may A.B. the son of C.B. [his mother] burn with the love of C.D. the daughter of E.D. [her mother]. Amen."⁴

¹ *Ibid.*, 123.

² *Ibid.*, 118.

³ *Ibid.*, 131.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 239. Note the iteration of the number seven. There must be some connection between this charm and *The Book of Enoch*, cap. 24: the seven mountains encircled with fragrant trees, and the tree of Life which had a fragrance beyond all fragrance (edit. R. H. Charles, Oxford, 1893; p. 97).

On some Saturday in October, the same writer tells us, the Nestorians hold a commemoration of the departed, which evidently has annexed to itself, or been annexed by some old pagan customs. "For some days previously¹ such families as intend to contribute to the feast are busily engaged in preparing their offerings. These consist of lambs and bread which are brought into the churchyard, and after the people have communicated of the holy Eucharist the priest goes forth, cuts several locks of wool off the fleeces and throws them into a censer. Whilst the deacon swings this to and fro in presence of the assembled guests, the priest recites the following anthem ;" which is entitled "The following is to be said over the lambs that are slain in sacrifice for the dead." The anthem or prayer which follows occupies nearly five pages of the book. In it it is prayed that the sacrifice of the lambs may be accepted, and that the oblation of them may be for the forgiveness of sins, the help and healing of the departed.

The tenets of the followers of Zaratuštra are embodied in the Avesta, which in its present form may be as late as the fourth century A.D. The fire-worship, which forms a prominent feature in their external cultus, is naturally referred to frequently in this book. The offerings to it are described, for instance in the following passage :

Bring libation unto the Fire,
Bring hard wood unto the Fire,
Bring incense of *Vohu-gaona* unto the Fire,
Offer up the sacrifice to the *Vā-zīsta*-fire.²

We are told³ that "if a man shall then piously bring unto the fire, O Spitama Zaratuštra, wood of *Urūdāna*, [a sort of garlic] or *Vohu-gaona* [benzoin], or *Vohu-kereti* [aloes], or *Haddhnaipata*, or any other sweet smelling wood, where-soever the wind shall bring the perfume of the fire,

¹ *Ibid.*, 229.

² *Vendidad, Fargard*, xix, 45 : *The Zoroastrian*, transl. J. Darmesteter, Oxford, 1880 : pt. j, p. 216 (Sacred Books of the East Series).

³ *Fargard*, viij, 79-80 ; *Ibid.*, 112.

thereunto Fire, the son of Ahura-Mazda, shall go and kill thousands of unseen *Daêvas*, thousands of fiends, the brood of darkness, thousands of couples of *Yâtus* and *Pairikas*." This demonifuge ceremony was required when a house was defiled by a dead body.¹ Similarly clothes that had become unclean were purified by bringing libations, hard wood, and incense of *Vohu-gaona* to the fire and perfuming them with the smoke therefrom.² Again, intercourse during the catamenial period required similar purificatory ceremonies.³

Incense does not form part of the regular cultus amongst Muḥammadans; but its use as a perfume about dead bodies is permitted by the Traditions, and it is used as an offering at the shrines of Muḥammadan saints.⁴ It is also used as a preliminary purification in the magic called *Da'wah*. Incense is used more by the Indian Muḥammadans than others.⁵ Its use is most probably due to the absorption into Islâm of pre-existing cults of great antiquity and popularity; and so it may represent to some extent the custom of the religions which Muḥammad displaced.

In the "Arabian Nights," perfumes are used for magical purposes. Julnâr of the Sea performs a conjuration by burning two pieces of Comorin aloes-wood to call her brother and relations.⁶ Daula Hatûn and her mother make fumigations to bring Bedi'ya and her mother to them.⁷ The Moor 'Abd-us-semed throws perfumes on the chafing-dish, and recites conjurations by which the entrance to the magically guarded treasure is opened.⁸

A strange belief concerning the sacred incense used by Eastern Christians is found in the "Arabian Nights."

¹ *Fargard*, viij, 4; *Ibid.*, 94.

² *Fargard*, xix, 24; *Ibid.*, 211.

³ *Fargard*, xvij, 71; *Ibid.*, 202.

⁴ Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, s.v. INCENSE, DA'WAH, London, 18.

⁵ *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, s.v. INCENSE. A bridegroom's hair is fumigated with 'ûd, aloes wood (G. A. Herklots' translation of Ja'far Sharif, *Qanoon e Islam* [Kânûn-i-Islâm], London, 1832; p. 125). Shrouds are fumigated with benzoin, and have 'abîr (ambergris), 'îr (otto of roses), or gulâb sprinkled over them (*ibid.*, 412).

⁶ *The Books of the Thousand Nights and One Night*, translated by John Payne, Villon Society, 1884; vol. vii, p. 7.

⁷ *Ibid.*, vij, 105, 187.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 1883; vol. vj, p. 19.

Whether there was any custom amongst the people of Syria or elsewhere¹ that gave rise to the idea does not appear to be known. The story relates how Afridûn, the Christian priest, proposed specially to hallow the Frankish knights, before their battle with the Muslims, by fumigation with the holy incense.² The incense in question was said to be the *fmus* of the chief patriarch, which was sought for with such instance, and was so highly valued, that the high priests of the Greeks used to mix it with musk and ambergris, and send it to all the countries of the Christians in silken sachets; and kings would pay a thousand dinars for every drachm of it, for they sought it to perfume brides withal, and the chief of them were wont to use a little of it in ointment for the eyes, and as a remedy in sickness and colic. But the priests used to mix their own with it, for that of the chief patriarch could not suffice for half a score countries.

§ IV—*Indian*

THE Hindûs, according to their ancient writings, used incense amongst other materials of their sacrifices. Milk and other products of the cow were offered; grain, too, in different forms: goats, sheep, cows, buffaloes, horses, and men were sacrificed. Incense was burnt, but so too were tufts of wool and horse dung.³ The gods and the spirits of departed ancestors, according to Hindû belief, are actually nourished and sustained by the aroma of the burnt offerings.⁴

When the King of India was pleased to make a public

¹ Amongst the Hindus, horse dung was burnt as a sacrificial offering to their gods. They anoint themselves with the ashes of burnt cow's dung (J. Roberts, *Oriental Illustrations*, London, 1844: p. 125).

² *The Book of the Thousand Nights and One Night*, translated by John Payne for the Villon Society, 1882; vol. ij, p. 146.

³ Compare the use described above from the "Arabian Nights."

⁴ J. Murdoch, *Sacred Books of the East described and examined*, Christian Literature Society; vol. j, pp. 53 sq., and vol. iij, pp. 121 sq. J. C. Oman, *Great Indian Epics Series, The Ramâyana and Mahabharata*, London, 1899: pp. 241-2.

appearance, certain ministers carried silver censers and filled with perfume the whole way along which he went.¹

The modern Hindûs offer incense freely : in the temple of Siva it is offered to the *Lingam* (or phallus) six times in the twenty-four hours. In other temples the number of times varies.²

The Hindû incense is compounded of frankincense, *kungelium* (two kinds of rosin), sarsaparilla, *periploca indica*, *curcuma zedoria*, *cyperus textilis*, *kondo sange-lingam* (a sweet smelling, yellow-coloured root with which the natives prepare a fragrant liniment for the head), and also the root of the lime-tree.³

§ V—*Jewish*

WE now pass on to the Hebrews, from whom many persons have thought that Christianity derived its use and mode of using incense in public worship. Our knowledge of the Hebrew cultus is mainly derived from the books of the Old Testament ; but before anything definite can be extracted therefrom, it is necessary to submit those documents to searching criticism in the same way as other ancient literature is treated. This is now being thoroughly accomplished by the labours of modern critics : and certain main facts have thereby been definitely established. As regards detail, much has still to be done ; and much too is now impossible of doing. The old ideas of the relative antiquity of the several books and parts of books which compose the Old Testament are definitely and finally abandoned. We cannot here deal with the arguments proving the modern views : they are ably set out elsewhere. But the results of modern criticism concern our present subject intimately.⁴

¹ Quintus Curtius Rufus, *Historiarum Liber VIII* : cap. ix.

² Joseph Roberts, *Oriental Illustrations of the Sacred Scriptures*, London, 1844 : pp. 94, 468.

³ *Ibid.*, 82.

⁴ For what follows : see Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, under the various headings : and (if used with discretion) *Encyclopædia Biblica*.

The tabernacle in the wilderness and its elaborate cultus never had real existence. It was the temple and its cultus carried back into the remote past by the imagination of the writers of the Priestly School, and modified to suit what they considered to be the requirements of the situation. And the introduction of an altar of incense into the account is the work of one of the latest writers of that school.

The worship of the Hebrew peoples before the time of Solomon's temple was at the high places. At these all the sacrifices were offered,¹ thither came the *nēbî'im* (E.V. prophets) with their ecstasies²; it was at the high places where the Sabbaths, new moons, and other festivals were celebrated³; there they propitiated the offended deity with cuttings of the flesh,⁴ and there too was practised the religious prostitution, hallowed by sacrifice.⁵

But we find no reference in those days to the use of incense as a material of sacrifice to Yahweh. Some centuries later Isaiah⁶ (*Yešai'ahu*) points out to them that Yahweh had *not* caused them to "serve Him with an offering, nor burdened them with incense, and sweet calamus bought with money." None of the prophets of the eighth century make any allusion to the use of incense in their vivid pictures of contemporary religion, nor is there any reference in the older historical books.

Here we must take note that in the English Version the word *incense* is used to translate two different words: *lbbhônâh*, Greek *λίβανος*, gum-frankincense; and also *ḵtôreth*, which signifies *smoke*, the smoke of a burnt offering. At a later period this came to signify *incense smoke* in particular, like the Greek *θυμίαμα*. The earliest definite use of the word *ḵtôreth*, in the sense of incense, is in the curious

¹ E.g., 1 Samuel ix, 11-14. 1 Kings ii, 3. Hosea ij, 5, 8; iv, 13; ix, 4.

² 1 Samuel x, 5, 10.

³ Hosea ij, 11.

⁴ Hosea vi, 14. *Conf.* 1 Kings xviii, 28. So Prof. G. F. Moore in *Arch. Theol.*, ij, 2966.

⁵ Hosea iv, 13. 1 Samuel ij, 22. *Conf.* Deuteronomy xxi, 18.

⁶ Isaiah xl, 23, 24. *Conf.* Jeremiah vi, 20.

description of a heathen mystery which had been assimilated by the Israelites, in Ezekiel viij, 11.

The caravans of the Ishmaelites conveying the aromatic gums and perfumes of Syria and Arabia passed through Palestine on their way to the Egyptian market at an early period¹; and in the time of Solomon (*S^clomoh*, *θ* c. 930) the queen of Sheba brought a great store of spices, that is, of South Arabian perfumes, to Jerusalem.² But there is not any evidence whatever that these were used by the Israelites in the worship of Yahweh before the seventh century.

Besides the high places, there were other places of worship. The kings of Judah and Israel built temples at various ancient Canaanitish holy places, such as Bethel, and at their capitals, Jerusalem and Samaria.³ At the royal sanctuaries the king was the supreme director of the cultus: he appointed the priests, and himself in person offered sacrifice on special occasions. The materials for the sacrifice and the revenues for the support of the worship came from him. Naturally, in course of time the royal sanctuary at the capital became more elaborate and splendid than those in the provinces.

There was a tendency, even before the Exile, to borrow ideas and models from foreign sources: Solomon's temple was built by a Phoenician architect after Phoenician patterns⁴; Ahaz, when he went to Damascus to meet Tukulti-pal-êšarra, saw an altar there which took his fancy, and sent "the fashion of the altar and the pattern of it" to Jerusalem, where he had one like it set up.⁵

But the period when foreign influences were at their zenith was in the seventh century, during the long reign of Manasseh (c. 692-639) and that of his son Amon (*θ* c. 638).

Hezekiah (*Hizki'îhû* c. 720-691) is said to have attempted some reforms, such as the destruction of the serpent-idol

¹ Genesis xxxvij, 25.

² 1 Kings x, 10.

³ 1 Kings xij, 29-32: xij, 32; 2 Kings xvij, 29, 32: xxij, 19.

⁴ 1 Kings vij, 13 sq.

⁵ 2 Kings xvj, 10-12.

Nehuṣtan¹: whether he really attacked the *bamôth* or high places, or even their accompanying *Maṣṣêbah* and *ašêrâh*, is uncertain. Some critics are of the opinion that the destruction of those objects, the stone and the wooden post, belongs to the deuteronomic crusade of the days of Josiah; and that Hezekiah merely put an end to the idolatry that prevailed there, against which Isaiah so constantly inveighed.²

However this may be, the high places were in the full enjoyment of their glory during the next two reigns. Policy urged alliance with Assyria or with Egypt: and the victories of the Assyrian king Ašur-ah-iddina no doubt confirmed the political considerations. "Mēnassé king of Yaudu," consequently appears in the lists of twenty-two vassal kings of Canaan and the neighbouring countries recorded by the Assyrian king.³ An important result of Manasseh's vassalage was the adoption of various Assyrian cults in honour of his suzerain-power.⁴ Altars for all the Host of Heaven were set up in the royal sanctuary at Jerusalem⁵: the sun and moon were worshipped⁶: the cult of Ištar under the title *malkat haššâmâyim*, Queen of Heaven, and of her star, the planet Venus, was followed "in the cities of Judah⁷ and the streets of Jerusalem"; and at the

¹ 2 Kings xviii, 4.

² Isaiah i, 10 sq., etc. At anyrate, the high places were in all their glory in the reigns of Manasseh and Amon, who succeeded Hezekiah.

³ T. K. Cheyne in *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, ii, 2926.

⁴ No doubt the same considerations that induced Aḥaz to sacrifice unto the gods of Damascus, which smote him, operated equally in the case of Manasseh and the victorious Assyrians: "Because the gods of the kings of Syria help them, therefore will I sacrifice to them, that they may help me" (2 Chron. xxviii, 23). *Cnf.* Jeremiah xlv, 17, 18. It has been well said that at this period of religious development people employed rather than worshipped their deities.

⁵ 2 Kings xxj, 3, 5. Jeremiah viii, 2; xix, 13. *Cnf.* 2 Kings xvij, 16.

⁶ Ezekiel viii, 16. 2 Kings xviii, 5. Deuteronomy iv, 19; xvij, 3. Job xxxj, 26, 27.

⁷ Jeremiah vij, 17, 18; xlv, 17-19. A cake was made, and offered by burning to her. The cult was afterwards transferred in Christian times to our Lady, by the heretical sect known as the Collyridians.

door of the gate of the temple which was towards the north sat women weeping for Dumuzi (Tammuz).¹

To the rise of Egyptian influence which followed on the defeat and death of Josiah on the plains of Jezreel (c. 608) by Nekau II, Nem-eb-Râ, may be attributed the introduction of the cult of reptiles and other animals, to whose images the Israelites brought censers and offered incense.² It seems to have been carried out secretly, "in the dark," rather than publicly³: to have been due to counsels of despair at the (apparent) overthrow of Yahweh by the defeat of Josiah.

To these times of foreign influence we must look for the introduction of the use of the foreign resins and perfumes in Israelitish worship. Perhaps the first occasions of their employment were in the performance of the ceremonial of the Assyrian cults, which were adopted by Manasseh in his sanctuaries: thence the custom was imitated in the Yahweh cult. The absorption of the incense-offering into the worship of Yahweh at the royal sanctuaries was no doubt facilitated by the close external similarity of the cultus at the temples of Babylon and Jerusalem in all its main features, the daily sacrifice, many of the offerings, the libations, the tables before Yahweh and Marduk respectively, and the things set thereon.⁴

The prophetic party was opposed to the outward and formal cult of sacrifices and burnt offerings: they had not been ordained by Yahweh. Jeremiah⁵ told the Israelites; "Thus saith Yahweh Šěbâôth the God of Israel: Put your burnt offerings unto your sacrifices, and eat flesh. For I spake not unto your fathers, nor commanded them, in the day that I brought them out of the land of Egypt,

¹ Ezekiel viij, 14.

² Ezekiel viij, 10, 11.

³ Ezekiel viij, 12. Probably at the celebration of some secret mysteries or gild-rites.

⁴ Compare the Babylonian use given from Herodotus on p. 27 with Exodus xxv. 29-30, and see A. H. Sayce, *Early History of the Hebrews*, London, 1897; pp. 197 sq.

⁵ Jeremiah vij, 21-22.

concerning burnt offerings or sacrifices." And more particularly¹ about the incense-offering: "what care I for frankincense that comes from Sheba, and sweet calamus from a distant land?" This passage is the earliest that we have referring to the use of incense in Israelitish worship.

Though the Hexateuch attributes the introduction of the incense offering to the time of Moses, the *Book of Jubilees* states that "on that day on which Adam went forth from the Garden [of Eden], he offered as a sweet savour an offering² of frankincense, galbanum, and stacte, and spices, in the morning with the rising of the sun, from the day when he covered his shame." And of Enoch we read³ that "he burnt the incense of the sanctuary, even sweet spices, acceptable before the Lord, on the Mount."

The offering of incense was at first performed by burning it in censers held in the hand. We have no pictures to show us what the early Israelitish censer was like: but as the instrument mentioned in Leviticus and Numbers, *māhtāh*,⁴ elsewhere signifies a fire-pan or shovel, we shall not be far wrong in concluding that the early censer belonged to the same class as that used by the Egyptians, and was a pan or bowl with a handle attached. With the introduction of the altar of incense, the older custom practically died out, and only survived in the ceremonies of the Day of Atonement. The "censer full of burning coals of fire from off the altar before Yahweh," which the high-priest carried in his right hand into the *d'bir* or Holy of Holies on that day was a fire-pan used (or similar to those used) on other days for removing coals from the brazen altar.⁵ In his left hand he carried a small quantity of incense in a spoon (*kaf*).

Every priest seems to have had a censer: thus in the (Priestly) story of Nadab and Abihu these two priests are

¹ Jeremiah vj, 20.

² R. H. Charles, *The Book of Jubilees*, cap. iij: § 27: London, 1902; p. 27.

³ *Ibid.*, cap. iv: § 25; p. 39.

⁴ Leviticus x, 1; xvj, 12. Numbers xvj, 6; xvij, 2. Exodus xxvij, 3; xxxvij, 3. 2 Kings xxv, 15. Jeremiah lii, 19.

⁵ Leviticus xvj, 12.

said to have been devoured by lightning from Yahweh because they put profane fire [*i.e.* not taken from the brazen altar] into their censers, and offered incense therefrom unto Yahweh.¹ In another tale from the same source, Korah and his whole company usurp a priestly function by taking censers and burning incense, and are consequently swallowed up by the earth; a plague falls on the Israelites as a result of Korah's presumption, which is only stayed by Aharôn's action in taking a censer with fire from the great altar therein, and going amongst the people burning incense.² The idea that offering of incense was a purely priestly function is accentuated still more in later days. The Chronicler emphasises it in his story of Uzziah, and in the reason which he assigns why that king was stricken with leprosy.³

In the temple of Solomon there was no altar of incense. Even after the exile, and after the introduction of the practice of burning incense, Ezekiel⁴ made no provision for it in his ideal temple: the only altar that he mentions within the temple is the "table before Yahweh." Nor was there any in the temple of Zerub-babel. Hecataeus (c. 300 B.C.) merely says that hard by the great altar there was a large building, wherein there was an altar (*βωμός*) and a candlestick (*λυχνίον*), both of gold, and in weight two talents.⁵ No incense-altar had been added at that time. On the other hand, the author of 1 Maccabees mentions the altar of burnt-offerings, the incense altar, the table (before Yahweh) and the candlestick⁶: so that the altar of incense

¹ Leviticus x, 1-2.

² Numbers xvj, 1 sq.

³ 2 Chronicles xxvj, 16-21. In 2 Kings xv, 3-5, the punishment is because of the king's maintenance of the High Places; but the Chronicler supposes that it was because Uzziah had attempted to offer incense.

⁴ Ezekiel xlj, 22. Only one altar is mentioned in the Jewish temple at Yeb, on the bank of the Nile opposite Aswân, B.C. 525-411; "they will offer meal-offerings and frankincense and burnt offerings upon the altar of the God Yahu." (*Guardian*, 6 November, 1907, p. 1827, col. b, c).

⁵ *Apud* Fl. Josephus, *Contra Apione*, Lib. I: cap. 22: *Opera*, Oxonij, 1720; pt. ij, p. 1349.

⁶ 1 Macc. iv, 49, 50.

must have been added sometime between 300 B.C. and the second half of the second century B.C. The date of 1 Maccabees is probably c. 140-125 B.C. From the time of its introduction onwards the incense-offering rapidly assumed an overwhelming importance in the cultus at Jerusalem.

The high priest burnt incense on the golden altar every morning when he dressed the lamps, and again every evening when he replaced them on the candelabrum and lit them.¹ The time of offering became sufficiently definite for it to mark the time of day in later years.² The incense used was a specially prepared compound, and no other might be used at the altar of incense, nor might it be used for any other purpose whatsoever, under pain of excommunication.³ "None other, or otherwise," is a maxim older than our Acts of Uniformity. The ingredients of this very sacred compound were *Nâtâph*, *s'hêleth*, *helb'nâh*, and *l'bhônâh zakkâh*, in equal parts, mixed together and seasoned with salt; and the whole was reduced to a fine powder,⁴ and not made into pastilles with honey as was customary in Egypt.

The ceremonial reached its height in the temple of Herod, which was begun c. 19 B.C. The incense-offering was no longer the peculiar right of the high priest. The selection of priests to prepare the great altar and the sacrifices, to offer the incense and the burnt offering, was made by lot. Two priests were chosen to cleanse the incense-altar, and to trim and to relight the lamps on the candlestick. Later on, the third and fourth lots were taken, to determine who should offer the incense, and who should lay the sacrifice on the altar.⁵ Offering incense was the important of all the duties of the service, and only those who had not performed the office before were

¹ This regulation belongs to the later additions of the "Priestly School."

² Judith ix, 1: "About the time that the incense of that evening was offered in Jerusalem in the house of the Lord." St. Luke, i, 10.

³ Exod. xxx, 38.

⁴ Exod. xxx, 34-36.

⁵ G. H. Box, an article on *The Temple*, in *Encyclopædia Biblica*, ix, 4952.

eligible ; unless all present had so officiated. But this was an unlikely occurrence, for Josephus states that the priesthood in his day numbered 20,000 men.¹ At the appointed time the officiant took a golden saucer or cup, with a handle, containing a smaller vessel, covered with a lid, in which was the regulation quantity of the sacred incense, $\frac{1}{2}$ mina, and over it all a cloth. He approached the altar, accompanied by an assistant priest bearing live coals from the great altar in a fire-pan, and the two priests who had dressed the altar and lamps before. The coals were emptied on to the incense-altar, and another assistant took the incense vessel and poured the contents into the hands of the officiant. All the assistants withdrew from the Holy Place as soon as they had completed their several duties, leaving the officiant alone. Then at a signal from the Master of Ceremonies, he sifted the incense on to the coals, and after prostrating himself, withdrew. No one was allowed to be in the temple, nor in the inner court, at the moment of offering the incense.²

The compound incense used in the Herodian temple was not the same as that used earlier. Its composition was more elaborate. Josephus³ mentions thirteen ingredients instead of the four given in Exodus. Besides those four were employed myrrh, cassia, spikenard (*šibbolet nerd*), saffron (*karkon*), costus (*kust*), mace (*kulupheh*), and cinnamon, together with Sodom salt, and a certain herb which was believed to have the property of causing the smoke to ascend in a vertical column to the roof before it spread out. In the last years of the temple the compounding of the sacred incense was in the hands of a family of Abtinis, who had a room in the precincts of the temple assigned to them for that purpose.⁴

On the day of Atonement⁵ the older method of burning

¹ Fl. Josephus, *Contra Apione*, Lib. ij : § 8.

² *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, ij, 2168 ; iv, 4955.

³ G. F. Moore in *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, ij, 2167 : quoting Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, Lib. V : cap. v : § 5.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 2167.

⁵ *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, j, 385 ; ij, 2166.

incense still obtained even in the Herodian temple. After confession of sins of "the seed of Aharôn, thy holy tribe" over the slaughtered bullock, the high priest took a censer or fire-pan full of burning coals from off the brazen altar, and a handful of powdered sacred incense, and went into the *d'êbîr* or Holy of Holies within the veil. Then he sprinkled the incense over the burning coals before Yahweh so that the cloud of smoke might cover the *Kappôreth* (E. V. Mercy-seat) "that he die not." Whether the *Kappôreth* (instrument of propitiation) ever actually existed, we do not know: it may have been a creation of the imagination of the priestly writer to whom our knowledge of its appearance is due.¹ In any case, when Pompey penetrated into the Holy of Holies, he found nothing inside but an empty seat:² and Josephus³ declared that "there was nothing at all therein." The *sedes vacua* which Pompey saw was perhaps the stone called *ében š'ithiyyâh*, upon which in the Herodian temple the high priest rested his censer when he burned incense in the *d'êbîr* on the Day of Atonement. The stone was said to mark the place where the ark should have stood.⁴

Besides the public incense offering which we have just been considering, there is the case where incense was used with other offerings. First, the ordinary *minhâh*, consisting of fine flour, oil, frankincense: a handful of the mass of oil and flour, with all the frankincense, and a little salt was burned on the great altar as the *azkârâh* (reminder, or memorial) of the oblation.⁵ The same proceeding followed the oblation of the cakes (*hallôth*, unleavened cakes mixed with oil; and *rêkîkîm*, unleavened wafers smeared with oil) baked in an oven, and those cooked on a griddle.⁶ Frankincense in fact was an accompaniment of every private

¹ G. Ad. Deissmann, in *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, ii, 3029.

² C. Cornelius Tacitus, *Historiae*, Lib. V: cap. ix: "Inde volgatum nulla intus deum effigie vacuum sedem et inania arcana."

³ Fl. Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, Lib. V: cap. v: § 5; *Contra Apionem* Lib. ij: § 8.

⁴ G. Ad. Deissmann, in *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, ii, 3029.

⁵ Leviticus ij, 1-2.

⁶ Leviticus ij, 4, 5, 7-9.

oblation except the pauper's sin-offering, and in the ordeal of jealousy.

Upon the Table before Yahweh, beside the shewbread, were set two golden vessels¹ containing pure frankincense : and when on the following Sabbath the bread was removed, the incense was burned on the great altar as an *azkârâh* to the bread.²

In all these cases only pure *l'bhônâh* was used, and not³ the sacred compound incense.

It would seem that in the time of the earlier Ptolemies the Hebrews were acquainted with the custom of carrying incense before sovereigns ; though one is not told from which country the allusion had been borrowed. In the anthology of wedding-songs, (which are akin to the Syrian *wasf*) used at or near Jerusalem, called *Solomon's Song*, is the following passage :—

What is it that cometh up from the wilderness,
Like pillars of smoke ?
Perfumed with myrrh and frankincense,
With all the spices of the merchant ?
See, it is Š'lomoh's litter,
Surrounded by warriors ;
They are all wearers of swords,
Expert in war.⁴

The imagery seems to be taken from the pomp of some oriental monarch, preceded by smoking censers, and accompanied by his guards. But there was no Hebrew king at the time when this was written, so that it cannot refer to Israelitish custom. Babylon, however, was known to the Jews : and they were acquainted with the practice there in vogue of offering incense to their rulers. The author of the Book of Daniel represents the King Nabû-kudur-uşur as worshipping the prophet and commanding that a gift and perfumes should be offered unto him.⁵

¹ Fl. Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaearum*, Lib. iij : cap. x : § 7.

² *Ibid.* Leviticus xxiv, 7.

³ Exodus xxx, 38. G. F. Moore, in *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, ij, 2166.

⁴ Canticles iij, vv. 6 sq. Written in the days of one of the early Ptolemies (3rd cent. B.C.).

⁵ Daniel ij, 46. Written c. 164 B.C.

Although in the story of Aharôn's staying the plague¹ by taking a censer and going among the people, this act is represented as making an atonement or bringing the propitiation of incense; yet it is easy to see that the original idea was that the incense drove away the evil spirits which were causing the disease. So in the book of Tobit² the archangel Raphael instructs the young Tobit how to make a smoke to put the devil Asmodeus to flight, by taking the ashes of incense, and laying on them some of the heart and liver of the fish which leaped out of the river at him when he went down to it to bathe. Tobit does as he is bidden, and the evil spirit, on smelling the odour, flies to the uttermost parts of Egypt, where he is bound by the angel.

Similar magical incidents occur in the *Testament of Solomon*. The king controls Asmodeus by burning the liver and gall-bladder of a fish together with fragrant styrax³; Beelzebub tells Solomon to burn stacte, frankincense, sea- "bulbs" (? onycha), nard and saffron, and to light seven lamps, in order to sustain his house in an earthquake.⁴

There remains now for us to consider the Israelitish use of aromatic perfumes at funerals.

In later times it became customary to wrap the bodies of their nobles and well-to-do persons in aromatics and divers kinds of spices. Thus the Chronicler⁵ states that Asa was buried in his own sepulchre, and laid in the bed prepared for him, which was filled with aromatics and spices. A similar custom obtained in our Lord's days, and was continued by the early Christians. Sacrifices to the dead

¹ Num. xvj, 46-47. Wisdom xvij, 21.

² Tobit vj, 16; viij, 2-3.

Migne, *Patr. gr.*, cxxij, 1323. Compare, remotely, the seven candles held by the epileptic over whom the *missa contra morbum caducum* is said (*Missale . . . Herfordense*, Leeds, 1874; pp. 447-8).

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1326.

⁵ The Chronicler records the burning for Asa, and the lack of it in Jehoram's case (2 Chr. xxv, 14; xxj, 19). In the additions to Jeremiah that for Zedekiah is foretold (Jer. xxxiv, 5). Amos vj, 10 is supposed by some critics to refer to the custom (read "he that burneth for him").

obtained amongst the Hebrews as amongst other nations : these ultimately degenerated into mere funeral feasts.¹ But at one time the sacrifices² took the form of "great burnings." Whether aromatic perfumes were burned on these occasions is not known.

¹ Deuteronomy xxvi, 14. Tobit iv, 17. Ecclesiasticus xxx, 18. Hosea ix, 4. 2 Samuel iij, 35. Jeremiah xvj, 7. Ezekiel xxiv, 17, 22.

² See note 5 above, on p. 45.

CHAPTER II

INCENSE IN PAGAN GREECE AND ROME

§ I—*Greek*

After surveying the customs of the oriental nations we can now pass towards the West, and the first people which we encounter are the Greeks.

In their earliest times they did not use any perfumes either in their sacrifices or at their funeral rites. The state of society described in the *Iliad* was one of mere brutal savagery: men devoid of morality, who worshipped their gods with sacrifices of their fellow-men and animals, and whose sense of smell was so ill-developed that it was not offended by large heaps of offal just outside the room in which they were feasting. Cremation was the usual, though not the only mode of burial in use. Fat, oil, and wine were heaped on the blazing pyre: but we hear nothing about incense or other aromatics,¹ because what was thrown on to the funeral-pyre was a sacrifice to appease or to feed the deceased person; and naturally they did not offer him anything that was not appreciated by themselves, and the deceased when alive.

In the later books of the *Iliad* some appreciation of pleasant odours begins to appear. Hera heals herself with perfumed oil, *τεθυρωμένον ἔλαιον*,² and Zeus is surrounded with a scented cloud, *θυόεν νέφος*.³ The *Odyssey* is of much later date than the *Iliad*, and the state of religious and other development is correspondingly more advanced. Here we

¹ C. Plinius Secundus, *Naturalis Historia*, Lib. XIII: cap. j; "Iliacis temporibus non erant [odores]; nec tura supplicabitur."

² *Iliad* xiv, 172. Note its connection with the divine Ambrosia.

³ *Iliad* xv, 153.

read of perfumed clothes, *θνώδευ εἴματα*,¹ and the scent of burning cedar-wood and some other wood was recognised (*οὐ μὴ κέδρου τε θύου τε*).² In Hesiod³ we hear of libations and smoke of sacrifices (*θυέεσσι*) offered to the immortal gods: some have here seen a reference to incense, but the evidence of that meaning having attached itself to *θύος* as early as Hesiod's days is lacking.

During the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. the Greeks were being brought into more and more close relations with Egypt and Syria⁴: and this, combined with increasing luxury and civilization, brought about the introduction of the use of the perfumes and incense which were imported from those countries. These seemed to have been first used amongst the Greeks of the Asiatic coast: at any rate it is reasonable to conclude that the practice would arise first in those parts where Greeks first developed a luxurious civilization, and where they would naturally be first brought into contact with incense producing and trading countries.

Pythagoras (θ c. 500) is said to have forbidden the sacrifice of animals, and to have taught that the gods ought only to be worshipped with incense, and offerings of cakes and honeycombs⁵: and his followers used to offer incense as an evening sacrifice to the gods.⁶ He is also said to have forbidden cremation.⁷ Incense had come into general use in the temples at the time when Sophocles (θ 406) wrote in

¹ *Odyssey* v, 264; xxj, 52. Compare the Homeric Hymn I, *In Apollinem*, l. 184.

² *Odyssey* v, 59-60.

³ Hesiod, *Works and Days*, j, 335.

⁴ Herodotus, *Euterpe*, II: cap. 154. Psammitichus (Uah-ab-Râ, Psamtek) reigned 664-610 B.C.

⁵ Iamblicus, *De pythagorica vita*, cap. x: n 54, *ap. Diogenes Laertius, Iamblicus*, etc., edit. A. Westmann and J. F. Borssonade, Paris, 1850; p. 27. And *Life of Pythagoras*, transl. Thomas Taylor, London, 1818; pp. 35, 108-9, 260. Laertius Diogenes, *Vita Pythagorae*, Lib. VIII: § 20.

⁶ Iamblicus, *De pythag. vita*, cap. xxj: n. 98; p. 40; cap. xxviiij: n. 150; p. 54. And *Life*, p. 72.

⁷ Iamblicus, *De pythag. vita*, cap. xxviiij: n. 154; p. 55. And *Life*, p. 112.

his *Aedipus Tyrannus*¹: "why sit ye here, when all the city reeks of the smoke of frankincense?" Euripides (θ c. 406) speaks of Syria as the source of frankincense.² Thucydides (θ 385) in enumerating the treasures of the temple of Aphrodite at Eryx, mentions bowls, wine-ladles, and censers.³ The writers of the fourth and following centuries make not infrequent allusions to the practice of offering incense as a sacrifice to the gods: and in one place Aristophanes (θ c. 380) incidentally alludes to the custom, of which we hear a great deal in the early ages of Christianity, of burning only a pinch of it, taken up with three fingers.⁴ In the Orphic Hymns, different kinds of fragrant substances are allotted to different gods: frankincense to one, saffron to another, myrrh to another, and so on.⁵

The festival in honour of Zeus known as the Daedala is spoken of as a great time for offering victims full of wine and incense.⁶ When anyone wished to consult the oracle of the Temple of Ceres at Patras, the priestess prayed, then offered incense, and then gazed into a mirror suspended in the holy well, in which she was supposed to see the answer.⁷

Seleucus II sent to the Council and people of the Miletus⁸ ten talents of frankincense, one of myrrh, and two minae each of cassia, cinnamon, and *costum*, in 243 B.C.

It was a saying⁹ among the Greeks, "to worship the deity with foreign incense," according to Pausanias, who wrote in the second century of our era.

¹ Sophocles, *Aedipus Tyrannus*, line 4.

² Euripides, *Bakkhai*, 130. *Cnf.* Arcestratus, quoted by Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, Lib. III: cap. xxij: Lugduni, 1657; t. j. p. 101.

³ *History of the Peloponnesian War*, Lib. VI: cap. 46. On Greek censers, see Pernice in *Jahrbuch des kaiserlichen deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, Berlin, 1900; bd. xiv, pp. 60 sq.

⁴ *Wasps*, 96.

⁵ *Orphei Argonautica Hymni*, Lipsiae, 1764; pp. 188, 190, etc.

⁶ Pausanias, *Graeciae descriptio*, Lib. IX: cap. iij: § 4.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Lib. VII: cap. xxj: § 5. *Cnf.* the imitation oracle set up by Patricius and Hilarius to ascertain who should be Valens' successor (Ammianus Marcellinus, Lib. XXIX: cap. j: § 30).

⁸ Edm. Chishull, *Antiquitates asiaticae*, London, 1728; pp. 65-72.

⁹ Pausanias, *Graeciae descriptio*, Lib. IX: cap. xxx: § 1.

In the procession connected with the festival of Artemis at Ephesus we have an interesting collocation of lights and incense.¹ First came the sacred victims, torches and baskets and incense; after that, horses, dogs and hunting equipment, and so on. So too, when the newly wedded couple, Anthias and Abrocoma, of Xenophon's tale, are setting out for Egypt by sea, a great crowd of Ephesians and many strangers come to their sending off, with torches and incense or perfume.² - It seems to have been an established method of expressing the joyful feelings of the people, and the custom still obtained when the council of Ephesus in 431 A.D. decreed that Nestorius should be deposed; on which occasion Cyril and the other bishops were escorted home by a crowd carrying lights and censers.

A writer of the second century describes the pomp at the Oracle of Delphi.³ There were, amongst other things, two quires of Thessalian virgins; they who were in the first carried baskets of flowers and fruits, and the second quire bowls or baskets, containing confectionary in some, and incense and spices in others, filling the place with fragrancy.

Another author, describing a certain joyous procession at Eurycomis, mentions the torches and lights carried therein, and the songs chanted.⁴ He also refers to the air being mingled with the perfumes of rose water and myrtle.⁵

¹ Xenophon of Ephesus, *De amoribus Anthiae et Abrocomae*, Lib. I; cap. ij, *ap.* G. A. Hirschig, *Erotici scriptores graeci*, Parisiis, 1856; p. 184. This writer is of uncertain date; perhaps of the time of the Antonines (Παρήσαν δὲ κατὰ στίχον οἱ πομπεῖοντες πρῶτα μὲν τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ δᾶδες καὶ κανᾶ καὶ θυμιάματα, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ἵπποι καὶ κύνες καὶ σκεύη κνηγετικά). Compare Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistai*, Lib. xv; c. 20: Lugduni, 1657; p. 701.

² *Ibid.*, Lib. I: cap. x, p. 188 (πάν μὲν τὸ Ἐφεσίων [πλήθος] παρῆν παραπεμπόντων, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῶν [ξένων], μετὰ λαμπάδων καὶ θυσιῶν).

³ Heliodorus *Aethiopica*, Lib. III, cap. ij: Διήρηντο δὲ εἰς δύο χορούς. καὶ αἱ μὲν ἔφερον καλαθίσκους ὁ πρῶτος χορὸς, ἀνθέων τε καὶ ὠραίων πλήρεις, αἱ δὲ κανᾶ περμάτων τε καὶ θυμιαμάτων κνηφοροῦσαι τὸν τόπον εὐωδίαις κατέπνεον (G. A. Hirschig, *Erotici Scriptores*, Parisiis, 1856 p. 270).

⁴ Eumathias, *De Hysmines et Hysminiae amoribus*, Lib. I: cap. ij: προπόμπῃ λαμπρᾷ λαμπάδων δᾶδων τε προπεμπτηρίων ὠδῶν (G. A. Hirschig, *Erotici Scriptores*, p. 523). *Cnf.* Lib. V: cap. vij; p. 549, for a similar occasion: torches, flowers and hymns are mentioned.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Lib. I: cap. iij; p. 270.

It would appear that, in some of the Greek cities of Asia Minor, there was occasionally granted the right of having incense burned before the recipient of the honours, besides the usual public panegyric and gift of a gold crown common to all Greek communities. The following inscription was found near Kirk-Agatch; and the King Attalus was the second of that name who ruled over Pergamus, and came to the throne in 158 or 159 B.C.

In the first year of the reign of Attalus, the 14th day of the month *Hyperberetaeus* (roughly October). Whereas Apollonius, son of Meleagrus, having been chosen President-of-the-Games at the time of the National-Festival, and Manager¹ of the royal Contests (?), and being a public benefactor; and he, a lover of the good in all things, having received both those partaking in and the strangers attending the present Spectacles; and having, too, held at one time the post of Governor of the City, he dwelt here as was right; and he now further promises to dedicate two libation-bowls each of a hundred Alexandrian drachmas: it has been decreed to give him a public panegyric, and that he should be crowned with a gold crown, and that he should receive public maintenance in the Prytaneum, and that incense should be presented to him,² and that the decrees should be inscribed upon a stele of white stone, and set up in the portico before the Senate-house; and that the City-Treasurer shall defray the expenses incurred, both on account of the crown and the stele.³

Aelian the historian illustrates the pride and ostentation of Menecrates, the Syracusan physician, who called himself Zeus; and tells a tale of a rebuff which he received at the hands of Philip of Macedon, who invited him to one of his feasts, placed him on a couch apart from the rest of the company, and instead of having him served with meats and food, caused a censer or altar (*θυμιαματήριον*) to be set before him as he lay there, on which incense⁴ was burned as though he were a god; but the rest of the company engaged in a sumptuous banquet. Menecrates did not appreciate the joke, and hurried away.

¹ ἀγωνοθέτης τῶν ὑπερβηταίων ἀσπασίων.

² προσφέρεσθαι ὅτι καὶ λατρεύων.

³ Aug. Boeckh, *Corpus inscriptionum graecarum*, Berolini, 1843; p. 246. Edmund Chishull, *Antiquitates asiaticae*, London, 1728, p. 147.

⁴ Aelianus, *Variae historiae*, Lib. xij: cap. 1j: edit. A. Gronovius Lugduni Batavorum, 1731; t. ij, p. 813.

§ II—*Roman*

WE are come to the last of the pre-Christian empires, one which lasted on well into Christian times, and had more influence than any of the preceding over the course of development of Christian ceremonial, the Roman Empire.

The earliest Latin writer to notice the use of incense as a material of sacrifice to the gods seems to be Plautus (ø 184 B.C.). He makes frequent mention of it, specially in connection with the worship of the household god; and then generally associated to the offering of wreaths of flowers. For instance, in *Aulularia*, the Household God comes forward to deliver the prologue, in which he says :

Here dwells an only daughter, who daily makes to me
Constant supplication with incense, wine, or something else,
Gives me garlands, etc.¹

Incense was not the only perfume used at that time as a sacrifice : Phronesium sacrifices to Lucina with stacte, *verbena*, incense and confectionery.² The term *verbena* is generic, and includes branches of bay, olive and myrtle, and other sacred and aromatic shrubs. The perfumes were offered upon a small altar holding a few hot coals. Plautus refers to Arabia as the country whence *ius*, frankincense, was brought.³

The Latin writers of the last century B.C. are full of allusions to the practice of burning incense on stationary censers or altars to the gods. We need not do more than mention the fact here,⁴ and pass on to its use in processions.

¹ M. Accius Plautus, *Aulularia*, Prologue, ll. 23 sq. *Cnf.* Gaetano Marini, *Gli atti e monumenti de Fratelli Arvali*, Roma, 1795 ; t. j, p. clxi, tav. xlj (a), l. 27 ; “acerras (ferentes) ture et vino fecerant ;” t. ij, p. 639 ; “quibusque mensibus lucerna lucens sibi ponatur incenso imposito.” Albius Tibullus, Lib. I : elegia x, ll. 19 sq.

² M. Accius Plautus, *Truculentus*, Act II : ll. 255, 259. *Cnf.* P. Vergilius Maro, *Eclogæ*, viij, l. 65 ; “Verbenasque adole pingues, et mascula tura.” G. Horatius Flaccus, *Carmina*, Lib. I, ode xix, l. 14.

³ M. Accius Plautus, *Miles gloriosus*, Act II : sc. ij : l. 2 : “eique ut arabico fumificem odore amoene.” *Trinummus*, Act III : sc. v : l. 88.

⁴ *Cnf.* Cod. Theodos., XVI : x : 12 ; “Nullus omnino . . . larem igne, mero genium, penates odore veneratur, accendat lumina, imponat tura, sarta suspendat.”

Incense was burned before the statues of deities (or stones in which they dwelt) borne in procession, in censers either stationed in the doorways and porches along the route, or else carried in the hand. When the Great Phrygian mother was brought from Pessinus to Rome in 204 B.C., Livy (θ 17 A.D.) tells us that Publius Cornelius Scipio, attended by the Roman matrons deputed to receive the goddess, went to meet her.¹ The ladies carried her all the way from Ostia to Rome in their hands, each taking her turn, and set her in the Temple of Victory on the Palatine Hill. Censers were set before the doors wherever the procession passed, and incense burned in them; everyone praying that she would enter the city with a good will and favourable disposition. This celebrated goddess was a meteorite; a small black stone, rough and unhewn, that could easily be held in a man's hand.²

Later on, in the time of Marcus Tullius Cicero, we hear of a statue of Diana being carried in procession into the country around Segesta, Sicily, accompanied by the matrons and maidens of the town wearing garlands of flowers, and bearing censers smoking with incense and other perfumes.³

Dionysius of Halicarnassus has preserved for us a unique account of the pomp of the Circensian games,⁴ as it was performed in the last century B.C.; and he tells us that in this procession, after bands of dancers came many musicians playing lyres and flutes; then followed persons carrying gold and silver censers, and various religious and civil insignia, after which were borne the images of the gods on men's shoulders.

Perhaps the most important of all the public processions at Rome was the Triumph; an honour accorded by vote of the Senate to a general who had waged a successful war against a foreign foe. The victorious commander,

¹ T. Livius Patavinus, *Historiae*, Lib. XXIX: cap. xiv.

² Arnobius, *Adversus Gentes*, Lib. VII: cap. xlix. D. G. Brinton, *Religions of Primitive People*, New York and London, 1897; p. 147.

³ M. T. Cicero, *Oratio in Verrem*, Act II, lib. iv, cap. vxxv, §77.

⁴ Dionysius Halicarnassensis, *Antiquitates romanae*, Lib. VII: cap. 72, Oxoniae, 1704; t. j.p. 460.

accompanied by his soldiers, and the spoils and prisoners of the fallen enemy, entered the city in a chariot drawn by four white horses, holding the ivory sceptre in his hand, and wearing a crown of bay leaves on his head. They all passed in solemn state through various streets, and finally along the Via Sacra up to the Capitol, where, on hearing that the captive leader or leaders had been executed (a species of human sacrifice), he offered up thanksgivings to Iuppiter and the other gods, and sacrificed to them.¹ Our present interest lies in some of the subsidiaries of the procession, the details of which varied from time to time. The soldiers raised shouts of *Io triumphe!* and sang triumphant songs.² The streets were hung with wreaths of flowers, and with lamps, and branches of trees; censers smoking with incense were set up in the doorways,³ and in all the temples the altars were in the like case: so that it is common to read that the city was full of lights and incense in descriptions of the later Triumphs.⁴

According to several renascence authors,⁵ the triumphing general was surrounded by persons bearing censers, smoking with all kinds of incense; and this is particularly stated of the triumph of P. C. Scipio Africanus.⁶ But although this

¹ W. Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, s.v. *Triumphus*.

² M. Terentius Varro, *De lingua latina*, Lib. v: Biponti, 1788; p. 69: "Sic triumphare appellatum quod cum imperatore milites redeuntes clamitant per urbem in Capitolium eunti *Io triumphe io*." Cf. M. Tullius Cicero, *Oratio in L. Calpurnium Pisonem*, cap. xxv: § 60. Q. Horatius Flaccus, *Carmina*, Lib. iv: ode ij: ll. 49, 50; *Epodon Liber*, ode ix: l. 23. P. Ovidius Naso, *Tristia*, Lib. iv: elegia ij: l. 52.

³ P. Ovidius Naso, *ex Ponto*, Lib. II: epistola j: l. 32.

⁴ E.g. Cassius Dio Cocceianus, *Historiae romanae*, Lib. lxiiij: capp. 4, 20: Lib. lxxiv: cap. 1: Hamburg, 1750-52; t. ij, pp. 1082, 1041, 1242. Plutarch, *Vita L. Aemilii Pauli*.

⁵ Blondus Flavius Fortiviensis, *De Roma triumphante*, Venetijs, 1511; fol. cxxvij; or Basiliae, 1559; p. 207. Onuphrius Panvinus ap. J. G. Graevius, *Thesaurus antiq. roman.*, Lugd. Batav. et Traiect. ad Rhen., 1699; t. ix, col. 1370.

⁶ John Servilius, *De mirandis antiquorum operibus*, Lubecae, 1600; p. 148.

is eminently probable, I have not succeeded in finding a definite statement in earlier writers to that effect. That censers should be carried in the hand as well as stationed by the wayside in triumphs is very likely, for we know that the same development took place in processions of statues of the gods; and in much later days we actually hear of lights and incense carried before a victorious general, though not at Rome. Moreover, the same transition took place in regard to lights, which used to be set about the streets and houses in many Triumphs. C. Julius Caesar was accompanied in his Gallic triumph by forty elephants carrying torches or lamps,¹ Gallienus was preceded by women bearing tapers, torches, and lamps,² and it is related of C. Duillius that, whenever he dined out, he was escorted home by servants holding torches and playing flutes, so that he seemed to have a triumph every day.³ Consequently the transition from a censer set by the wayside to one carried in the hand may equally well have happened.

Appuleius⁴ tells us that a great number of men and women carried candles, torches, and other kinds of lights in the procession of the goddess Isis, and further on one of the priests carried a lantern, while another bore a small altar with both hands. At the head of the concourse women wearing garlands and flowers shrewed the way with herbs, and others sprinkled the route with balm and other precious odours.

There are also other facts known to us which increase the probability of the statement being true. In 473 B.C., after Publius Valerius Poplicula had conquered the Veientes and the Sabines he was met (according to Dionysius of Halicarnassus) at some distance from Rome by a crowd of his fellow citizens, decked with garlands in

¹ C. Suetonius Tranquillus, *Vita C. Iulii Caesaris*, cap. 37: *Conf.* Dio Cassius, Lib. xliij: cap. 22.

² Trebellius Pollio, *Vita Gallieni*, cap. viij. *Conf.* Suetonius, *Vita Caligulae* cap. xij.

³ M. Tullius Cicero, *De senectute*, cap. xij: 44. L. Annaeus Florus, *Rerum roman. epitome*, Lib. ij: cap. ij.

⁴ L. Appuleius Madaurensis, *Opera*, Paris, 1633: *Metamorphoseos*, Lib. ij: l. l. pp. 366, 372.

tokens of rejoicing, who offered incense to him as he came along. Afterwards the Senate decreed him the honour of a triumph.¹ Even if this story were not true, at anyrate it shows that, at the time when it was made up, offering incense in such a way was considered to be an appropriate ceremony. About 70 B.C. Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius, then Pontifex Maximus, being in Further Spain, was received with great pomp and luxury by the inhabitants. As he sat at table, an image of Victory was let down from above, and placed a crown upon his head; as he went along the street, incense was offered to him as though he were a god.² It should be mentioned, however, that Sallust writes of this as though it were something out of the common. On the other hand, Cicero³ tells us that, when Marcus Marius Gratidianus was at the height of his popularity, the people set up statues of him in every street, and placed lighted tapers and burning incense before them. Here, at any rate, we have a clear and definite instance of lights and incense used to honour a living hero, and in Rome itself; and this fact materially helps us to accept the truth of the former instances where the evidence is not so good.

One of Horace's most entertaining satires is that in which he relates the story of a journey to Brundisium. On the way they passed through Fundi, where Aufidius Luscus was Praetor. This worthy man was so overwhelmed with a sense of his own importance that he seized the opportunity of a visit from a few travellers from Rome to display his dignity, coming to meet Horace and his companions in his *toga praetexta* and *tunica laticlavica*, and having a vessel of

¹ Dionysius Halicarnassensis, *Antiquitates romanae*, Lib. IX : cap. xxxv : Oxoniae, 1704 ; t. j ; p. 567.

² Sallust fragment, quoted by *Aurelius Macrobius Ambr. Theodosius* in *Saturnalia*, Lib. ij : cap. ix : *Opera*, Lipsiae, 1774 ; p. 382.

³ M. Tullius Cicero, *De officiis*, Lib. III. cap. xx : § 80. *Cnf.* the lights set before the images of Venus and Apollo by Asclepiades (Ammianus Marcellinus, Lib. XXII : cap. xij : "ante pedes simulacri") and St. Jerome's Commentary, Lib. xvj, in *Esaiam*, cap. lvij : v. 7, *Super montem* : "tutelae simulacrum cereis venerans ac lucernis" at Rome. *Cnf.* Eusebius, *Vita Constantini Magni*, Lib., II : cap. v.

live coals borne before him.¹ Theodor Mommsen points out that Aufidius Luscus must have been a Roman senator, because the highest magistrate of Fundi was only an aedile, and the *latus clavus* belonged only to a Senator of Rome, and not to a *Decurio*.² Before discussing the correlations of this *prunae batillum*, it will be better to ascertain a few more facts about similar ensigns of dignity and rank under the Emperors.

The historian Herodian mentions on several occasions an imperial ensign to which considerable significance seemed to be attached, and which he shortly terms τὸ πῦρ, the Fire. The Emperor Commodus, we are told, allowed his sister Lucilla, widow of Lucius Verus Imperator, to retain certain imperial ensigns granted her by Pompeianus, amongst which were the privileges of sitting in the royal box at the theatres and having "the Fire" borne before her.³ When Pertinax was elected emperor in 193 A. D., he refused to have any of the ensigns of the rank until the Senate had declared its will; neither "the Fire" carried before him, nor any other.⁴ Niger was declared *Imperator* and *Augustus* in Syria, and promptly proceeded to the temples at Antioch with all the ensigns of imperial dignity, wearing the imperial purple and the other vestures, and having "the Fire" borne before him.⁵ Quartinus, too, wore the purple, and had "the Fire" borne before him for the short time that he possessed himself of the throne.⁶ Gordian was in Africa in 238 when the empire was offered to him, and on accepting the dignity hurried off at once to Carthage, displaying the usual signs of the imperial rank, the statues and the laurelled fasces, with "the Fire" carried

¹ G. Horatius Flaccus, *Satirae*, Lib. I: satira v: ll. 35-36.

² Theodor Mommsen, *Römische Staat-recht*, Leipzig, 1837: bd. j, p. 423.

³ Herodianus, *Historiae*, Lib. I: cap. viij: § 8: Lipsiae, 1739: t. j, pp. 292 sq.

⁴ Herodianus, Lib. II: cap. iij: § 5: t. ij, p. 65.

⁵ Herodianus, Lib. II: cap. viij: § 10: t. ij, pp. 246-8.

⁶ Herodianus, Lib. VII: cap. i: § 21: t. iii, p. 573.

before him : so that for the nonce Carthage resembled a miniature Rome in pomp and splendour.¹

This ensign of "the Fire" did not belong to any but the *uxor*, for Commodus' *concubina* Marcia² possessed all the dignities of wife and empress *πλὴν τοῦ πυρὸς*, except "the Fire."

Now what was "the Fire"? It can be only one, or both, of two things. It may mean torches lamps or tapers, some form of lights, which we know were carried before the emperors and some of their higher officials. But Herodian, who is the only writer who uses this expression, employs another word for torchbearers, *δαδουχίαι*; which we find in the description of the public rejoicings in honour of Antoninus at Alexandria in 215 A.D.³; when, besides a large band of musicians in the procession, there were torches carried and flowers scattered, and every street was full of the smoke of incense and other perfumes. The same word is used again in describing the festal entry into Rome of the goddess Astroarche, which Heliogabalus brought from Carthage: people with torches and others with flowers and garlands ran beside the image.⁴

We have already seen that both lights and incense were burned before popular heroes and their statues. In the early ages of the Christian era, the burning of incense before the effigy of the reigning emperor was used as a test to sift out the orthodox from the unorthodox, those who submitted to the state religion from those who did not. Pliny tells Trajan in his well known letter how some offered incense and libations of wine to his image which he had ordered to be brought with the images of the gods, while others refused.⁵

This custom of burning incense to the reigning emperor's statue was a result of the deification of the emperors, which became usual after the death of Octavian.

¹ Herodianus, Lib. VII: cap. vj: § 4; t. iij, pp. 700-02.

² Herodianus, Lib. II: cap. xvj: § 9; t. j, pp. 695-6.

³ Herodianus, Lib. IV: cap. viij: § 19; t. ij, p. 936.

⁴ Herodianus, Lib. V: cap. vj: § 19; t. iij, p. 205-6.

⁵ C. Plinius Caecilius Secundus, *Epistolae*, Lib. X: Ep. xcviij.

Prudentius¹ could say that in times past they shared power with the gods, and even the honour of incense and the little chapels: and this, too, while still living. It must be regarded as a development parallel to, rather than in one chain with, the custom of burning incense before them on important secular occasions.

When the emperor Heraclius entered Jerusalem in 619 A.D., after his victories over the Persians, the people came out to meet him and escorted him to the city bearing branches of olive, torches, and censers smoking with perfumes.² And at the time of the seventh general Council the waxen effigy of the emperor, when it was sent round to the various provinces and cities, was greeted with the lighted tapers and incense offered everywhere by the populace. Theodosius brought this custom up before the Council as an argument in favour of burning lights and incense before icons and images.³ A trace of the custom lingered on to the tenth century at the Byzantine Court. When the emperor was going to create a new *Patricius* or a Proconsul,⁴ he sat with his court around him in a hall near the church of St. Theodore: and as a commencement to the proceedings the *Mensurator* or else the *Papias* of the great palace, took a censor, and coming to the emperor, thrice censured him and then departed. Neither the *Mensurator* nor the *Papias* (who was a sort of Major-domo) were ecclesiastics: the former was often a eunuch, and both were

¹ Aurelius Prudentius Clemens, *Libri prior contra Symmachum Praef. Urbi (De Libero qui et Bacchus)*, ll. 29 sq. *Cnf.* Suetonius, *Vita Caligulae*, cap. xiv.

² Eutychius, *Annales*, ap. Migne, *Patr. graec.*, cxj, 1089. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ap. *Corp. byzant. script. hist.*, Venetijs, 1729: t. vj, p. 217.

³ Labbe, Coisart, and Mansi, *Councilorum Collectio omnium*, t. xij, col. 1014. *Cnf.* Hadrian's letter to Constantine and Irene, 772, in Migne, *Patr. lat.*, xcvj, 1228.

⁴ Constantinus Porphyrogenetus, *Libri duo de ceremoniis aulae byzantinae*, Lipsiae, 1751-54: t. j, pp. 143, 149: *Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τῶν θυμῶν ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἢ καὶ ὁ παππὸς τοῦ παλατίου τοῦ μεγάλου, θύει ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπομύρον βῆλαι τῶν χρυσόπυλων, καὶ ἀντιπρὸς τὴν θύειν τῶν βασιλέων, καὶ τοῖς τοῖς ποταμοῖς ἐκ τριτῶν ἐποχῶν.*

entirely secular officers.¹ At some time after the tenth century this practice died out : for when Codinus (c. 1325) wrote on the subject, the office of the Great *Papias* was unknown.² Some further reminiscence of the practice survived in the Ascension Day procession, when one of the Domestics, carrying a censer and wearing a purple cloak, met the emperor as he rode to the font at St. Mary's Church, outside the gate which was opposite it.³

There would seem, then, to be grounds for thinking that "the Fire" of which Herodian tells us signified a portable incense-altar or censer, such as may be seen reproduced in Johann Winckelmann's *Monumenti antichi inediti*,⁴ and to be closely akin to the *prunae batillum* which the pompous Aufidius Luscus displayed at Fundi. Such an altar was carried at the head of the procession in the festival of the Liberalia wherein incense was burned from time to time.⁵

But we know of another "fiery" thing which was certainly used as an imperial ensign ; to wit, lamps, torches or candles.

It is related of the emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus that, in his father's lifetime, when he went out without his august parent, he wore quiet-coloured clothes, and would not have "the Light" (τῷ φωτὶ) carried before him⁶ : and himself has left it on record that as emperor he preferred to

¹ *Ibid.*, 149, and note to p. 142.

² Georgius Codinus Curopalata, *De officiis magnae ecclesiae et aulae constantinopolitanae*, in *Corpus byzant. script. hist.*, Venetijs, 1729 ; t. xvij, 75.

³ Constantinus Porphyrogennetus, *De caerimonijs aulae byzantinae*, Lib. I : cap. xvij : § j ; t. j, p. 65 : Καὶ εἰθ' οὕτως ἰππεύει ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκείσε, ἀπὸ σκαρμαγγίου χρυσοκλάδου, καὶ διέρχεται διὰ τοῦ ἐκείσε ὄντος λειμῶνος, καὶ τοῦ παρατειχίου, καὶ ἀπέρχεται μέχρι τῆς εξαγοῦσης πόρτης ἀπέναντι τῆς πηγῆς, καὶ δέχεται αὐτὸν ἐκείσε ἔξω τῆς αὐτῆς πόρτης ὁ δομέστικος τῶν νομέρων, φορῶν σαγίον ἀληθινόν, βαστάζων καὶ θυμιατόν.

⁴ J. Winckelmann, *Monumenti antichi inediti*, Roma, 1767 ; vol. j, pl. 177.

⁵ M. Terentius Varro, *De lingua latina*, Lib. V : Biponti, 1788 ; t. j, p. 55. *Cnf.* Q. Sept. Flor. Tertullianus, *De idolatria*, cap. xj.

⁶ Dio Cassius Cocceianus, *Historiae romanae*, Lib. lxxj : § 35 : Hamburg, 1750-52 : t. ij, 1199 sq.

dispense with the suite of attendants, the special costume, the torches, (λαμπάδων) and statues, and similar ensigns of the imperial rank.¹ Corippus, some centuries later, in describing the approach of the Emperor Justinian to the theatre, mentions that the light (*lucerna*) was carried before as usual.² In still later times the officer who carried this Light was known as *Lampadarius*.³

Nor were the emperors and their family the only persons to enjoy this ensign. In the *Notitia dignitatum imperij romani* which dates from the first half of the fifth century of our era, we find that among the ensigns of the Pretorian Prefect of the Orient,⁴ and of the Asian⁵ and Pontic Vicars,⁶ were the *Liber Mandatorum*, and four lighted tapers or torches. The Prefect of Illyricum,⁷ the Pretorian Prefect of Italy,⁸ and the Prefect for the City (of Rome)⁹ had the same.

According to the Paschal Chronicle, Constantine the Great appointed a yearly commemoration of the founding of Constantinople. Soldiers were to draw his statue in marble all round the course during the Circensian Games then to be held, past the imperial box, so that the reigning emperor might rise and adore his statue and the Fortune of the City. They who drew Constantine's statue all held white tapers in their hands.¹⁰

¹ Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Imperator, *Opera*, Lib. I: § xvij: Cantabrigiae, 1652; p. 7.

² Fl. Cresconius Corippus Africanus, *In laudem Iustini Augusti minoris*, Lib. II, ll. 293 sq: "praenuncius ante signa dedit cursor, posita de more lucerna."

³ G. Codinus Curopalata, *De effectis, etc.*, cap. xj: § iv: Venetijs, 1729: p. 67.

⁴ T. G. Graevius, *Thesaurus antiquitatum romanarum*, Francof. ad Rhem. et Lugd. Batav., 1698; t. vij, col. 1392.

⁵ *Ibid.*, col. 1648.

⁶ *Ibid.*, col. 1656. Iustiniani Imperatoris, *Edictum VIII*: cap. iij: § 4.

⁷ *Ibid.*, col. 1397.

⁸ *Ibid.*, col. 1791.

⁹ *Ibid.*, col. 1798.

¹⁰ *Chronicon Paschale*, apud *Corpus byzantinorum scriptorum*, Venetijs, 1729; t. iv, p. 227.

The Chronicle gives this under the date 301 : at any rate the passage shews the custom of the fifth or sixth century, even if it be insufficient to prove that it was inaugurated by Constantine himself.

Wherefore it would seem that the full imperial ensign of "the Fire" was composed of (1) a censer with burning incense, and (2) lights, either lamps, candles, or torches.

The ceremonious appearance in public of the emperor or of one of his great officers of state with these ensigns of their rank was known as a *processus* or procession.¹

Some have sought for the origin of this ensign of "the Light" or "the fire" in the Persian custom of carrying the sacred Fire on a silver altar before the army. Those who carried it were termed *πυρφόροι* by the Greeks.² Aeschylus speaks of the *πυρφόρος* as bearing a torch (*λαμπάς*).³ Such a source is not, however, very probable : it is intrinsically far more likely that these ensigns were adopted from the accompaniments of the Triumph. After about 14 B.C. the emperors practically reserved the right of a Triumph to themselves alone, and almost all such honours after that date were granted to members of the imperial family.⁴ Instead, they granted the use of the *triumphalia ornamenta* to the victorious general.⁵ In the days of the Republic there were many instances of these being granted to foreign rulers⁶ as a token of respect ; much as sovereigns of to-day

¹ Trebellius Pollio, *Vita Gallieni*, cap. xvij. Iulius Capitolinus, *Vita Pertinacis*, xj. See Ducange's *Glossarium*, s.v. PROCESSIO.

² Xenophon, *De republica lacedaemonica*, cap. xij : § 2. Herodotus, *Urania*, VIII : cap. 6.

³ Aeschylus, *Seven against Thebes*, ll. 438-39. *Cnf. schol. in Phoenis.*, l. 1386, of Euripides.

⁴ Dio Cassius, Lib. LIV : cap. xxiv.

Dio Cassius, liv. 24. Suetonius, *Vita Octaviani*, 38 : *Vita Tiberij Claudij Drusi Caesaris*, i, 17 bis, 24 : *Vita Neronis*, 4, 15 : *Vita Sergii Sulpicii Galbae*, 8. Tacitus, *Annalia*, j, 72 ; ij, 52 ; iij, 72 : *Historiae*, ij 79 ; ij, 78, etc.

⁶ *E.g.* Titus Livius Patavinus, *Historiae*, Lib. xxx : cap. 15 ; Lib. xxxi : cap. 11 : Lib. xlij : cap. 14.

present one another with honorary commissions in each other's armies and navies.

It is to be noted, however, that the ornaments in question were the *toga praetexta*, the *sella curulis* and the *scipio eburneus*: nothing is said of lights and incense. But we may conclude that as some of the triumphal ensigns became badges of consular rank under the Republic,¹ so later on others derived from the same source became part of the imperial ensigns. The restriction of the various *ornamenta*, even the trivial lights and incense of the Triumph, to the imperial family was no doubt of gradual growth: and besides the disallowance of the actual procession to any outside the family, the deification of the emperor, even while living, could not but help in the same direction. A similar gradual restriction may be seen in the use of the word *imperator*,² from meaning a general, then a title of honour granted to successful generals and used after their names, and finally to designate the Roman Emperor.

In the procession from the bride's paternal home to her husband's house she was attended by three boys, two supporting her by the arm, and the third bearing a torch of pinewood or thorn before her.³ Five other torches, *faces nuptiales*, were also carried⁴ before her: for this procession did not take place until nightfall.

¹ Dionysius Halicarnassensis, *Antiq. roman.*, Lib. III: cap. lxi. Peter Faber, *De magistratibus romanorum commentarius*, ed. A. H. de Sallengre, *Nec. the aur. antiq. rom.*, Hagae Comit., 1716-19: t. ii, 1135. C. Julius Caesar granted the consular ensigns to ten persons of praetorian rank (C. Suetonius Tranquillus, *Vita C. Iulij Caesaris*, cap. lxxv).

² See Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, Oxford, 1896: p. 899, s.v. *imperator*.

³ G. Valerius Catullus, *Carmena*, l. xj, 14, mentions the *taeda pinca*. C. Plinius Secundus, *Hist. Nat.*, Lib. XVIII: cap. xvj. P. Ovidius Naso, *Fasti*, Lib. II: l. 118: and the wedding torches are mentioned in l. 561.

⁴ G. Valerius Catullus, *Carmena*, l. xj, 77, 95, 121.

In the fourth century A.D. we hear of large quantities of perfumes being used at weddings: that earlier ages used them in some way we know,¹ and it is not likely that the nuptials of the two children, Honorius and Maria, (he was but fourteen and she younger) were the first at which such things were introduced. The poet Claudian speaks of amomum, cassia, cinnamon and costus, as being used in abundance.² The wedding procession was accompanied by the chant of *Io Hymen o Hymenaeae*.³

In the early days of Rome it was not the custom to burn, but to bury the dead.⁴ Before burial the body was washed and anointed.⁵ But by degrees cremation became more common, until at length it practically superseded the older method: but children who had not acquired teeth, and persons struck by lightning were always buried. The older patrician families were among the last to yield to the novelty. L. Cornelius Sulla was the first patrician member of his clan to be cremated, and it was only adopted in his case for fear of what Caius Marius might do to his body.⁶ A vast quantity of incense and other spices was gathered together for his funeral pyre by the ladies of Rome,

¹ At the nuptials of Cupid and Psyche, as told by L. Appuleius, "Horae rosis et caeteris floribus purpurabant omnia: Gratiae spargebant balsama" (*Metamorph.*, Lib. VI; *Opera*, Parisijs, 1688; t. j, p. 195).

² Cl. Claudianus, *In nuptiis Honorii et Mariae*, Carmen x, ll. 104 sq. He also mentions the flowers scattered, the torches carried, and the perfumes sprinkled (ll. 214, 218, 221). See too his *Epithal. Palladij et Celerinae* ll. 104-5, 111-12, 124-26.

³ G. Valerius Catullus, *Carmina*, lxj; lxij (*passim*).

⁴ C. Plinius Secundus, *Historia naturalis*, Lib. VII: cap. liv: Parisijs, 1723; t. j, p. 410. M. T. Cicero, *De legibus*, Lib. II: cap. xxij: § 56.

⁵ Quintus Ennius, *Fragmenta ex Annalium tertio libro*, Amstaelodami, 1707; p. 54: "Postumque turannei Tarquiniei corpus bona femina lavit et unxit." P. Vergilius Maro, *Aeneis*, Lib. VI: l. 219.

⁶ M. Tullius Cicero, *De legibus*, Lib. II: cap. xxij: §§ 56, 57. C. Plinius Secundus, *Hist. nat.*, Lib. VII: cap. liv.

so that, besides what was carried in two hundred and ten litters, there was sufficient to have made a large figure of Sulla himself, and another representing a lictor, out of costly frankincense and cinnamon.¹ By the direction of Caesar, the head of Cn. Pompeius was burned with a large quantity of the most precious aromatics.² Vergil,³ Statius,⁴ and others allude more than once to this custom. Not only were incense and other aromatic resins and gums laid on the pyre, but they and scented oils and balsams were thrown into the flames by the bystanders; and even the clothes and personal effects of the deceased and of the surrounding mourners.⁵ No doubt the aromatic perfumes would alleviate if not destroy the unpleasant odour of burning flesh.

Such was the usage at funerals of the rich and the upper classes. But Propertius has revealed to us the difference between the rich and the poor in this matter: after saying that his funeral shall be celebrated without pomp, flutes, ivory couch, etc., he continues:

Censers of sweetsmelling incense then for me shall be lacking,
Only the petty rites meet for a pauper I'll have.⁶

After the ashes had been collected and put into an urn,

¹ Plutarch, *Vita L. Cornelii Sullae* (prope finem).

² Sextus Aurelius Victor, *De Viris illustris*, lxxxij, 13. Valerius Maximus, *Factorum dictorumque memorabilium libri*, Lib. V: cap. j: § 10.

³ P. Vergilius Maro, *Aeneis*, Lib. VI: ll. 224-5. *Cnf.* M. Val. Martialis, *Epigrammata*, Lib. X: xxxj: l. 6. D. Iunius Iuvenal. *Satira* iv, ll. 108 sq.

⁴ P. Papinius Statius, *Sylvae*, Lib. V: j, ll. 208 sq; Lib. II: pars j, ll. 9-21: "saevos damnati turis acervos." *Cnf.* G. Peto Albinovanus, *De morte Drusi Neronis*, ll. 87, 88: "nec poscunt tura ferenda rogo."

⁵ Statius, *Thebais*, Lib. VI: l. 126. M. Annaeus Lucanus, *Pharsalia*, Lib. IX: ll. 175 sq. C. Cornelius Tacitus, *Annalia*, Lib. III: cap. ij. P. Vergilius Maro, *Aen.*, VI, 217.

⁶ Sextus Aurelius Propertius, *Elegiae*, Lib. II: elegia x, ll. 23, 24: "Desit odoriferis ordo mihi lancibus, adsint plebei parvae funeris caequiae."

scents and perfumes were poured over them ;¹ and when the urn had been placed in the sepulchre, the tomb was often adorned with garlands and flowers.² There was even found some persons who for a long time after his death decked the tomb of the infamous Nero with spring and summer flowers.³ Before the tomb a small altar was placed for the sacrifice of libations and incense to the shades of the deceased⁴ ; and this appears to be the *acerra* forbidden by the laws of the Twelve Tables⁵ (c. 450 B.C.).

When Nero's wife Poppaea died, her body was not committed to the flames in the Roman fashion, but she was embalmed like foreign (*i.e.* Egyptian) sovereigns, being filled with spices, and laid in the tomb of the Julian clan.⁶ Pliny states that as much incense as Arabia produced in a twelvemonth was burned at her funerals.⁷

The torches carried in the funeral procession are often mentioned by the Latin writers.⁸

¹ D. Magnus Ausonius, *Carmina*, xxxvj : *Opera*, Parisijs, 1730 ; p. 191. Propertius, III : xiv, 23. Albius Tibullus Lib. I : elegia iij : l. 7. M. Val. Martialis, *Epigrammata*, Lib. XIII : n. 126. P. Vergilius Maro, *Aeneis*, Lib. VI : l. 227. Herodian, Lib. III : cap. xv : § 16 ; and see Lib. IV : cap. i : § 10 sq. for a description of an emperor's funerals.

² Sextus Aurelius Propertius, Lib. III : Eleg. xiv : ll. 23-4. P. Vergilius Maro, *Aeneis*, Lib. V : l. 79 ; Lib. VI : ll. 883-4 C. Cornelius Tacitus, *Historiae*, Lib. II : cap. 55. M. Tullius Cicero, *Oratio pro L. Flacco*, cap. xxxvii : § 95. Tibullus, II : vj, 32. G. Pedo Albinovanus, *In Maecenatis obitum elegia*, last line but one : "Semper certa tibi dabimus, tibi semper odores."

³ C. Suetonius Tranquillus, *Vita Neronis*, 57.

⁴ P. Vergilius Maro, *Aeneis*, Lib. III : ll. 63, 64, 301 sq.

⁵ M. Tullius Cicero, *De legibus*, Lib. II : cap. xxiv : § 60 : "ne sumptuosa respersio, ne longae coronae, nec accerrae."

⁶ C. Cornelius Tacitus, *Annalia*, Lib. XVI : cap. vj.

⁷ C. Plinius Secundus, *Hist. Nat.*, Lib. XII : cap. xvii : § 41.

⁸ *E.g.* P. Ovidius Naso, *Fasti*, Lib. II : l. 562. C. Plinius Secundus, *Hist. Natur.*, Lib. XVI : cap. xxxvij : § 70.

CHAPTER III

THE THEORY OF PRE-CHRISTIAN USES OF INCENSE

§ I—*As a sweet smell*

We have now finished the survey of the chief uses of incense in pre-Christian worship, and it only remains to consider what was the underlying theory of these uses.

An obvious reason for the incense offerings is that it was natural for these people to conclude that what was pleasant to human nostrils must be equally agreeable to divine perceptions.¹ And amongst all oriental peoples a great love of perfumes has always obtained as soon as they have reached any degree of civilization.² The use of myrrh, scented oils and ointments is often mentioned in Egyptian documents as an accompaniment of feasting: myrrh and scented oils were poured on the head.

Celebrate the joyful day!

Let sweet odours and oils be placed for thy nostrils.³

runs a song of the eighteenth dynasty. And in the "tale of Sanḥa,"⁴ for the hero, we read, there were sent from the Treasury garments of kingly attire, species of the finest, such as the king's nobles love; in every chamber there were all sorts of liquors for my limbs . . . for my hair."

¹ Arnobius, *Adversus gentes*, Lib. VII: cap. xxviii. Porphyrius, *De abstinentia*, Lib. ij: § 6.

² Cnf. *Acts of the Apostle Thomas*, Anti Nicene Christian Library, 1870; vol. xvj, pp. 391-2. J. Roberts, *Oriental Illustrations of the Sacred Scriptures*, London, 1844; p. 520.

³ A. Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, London, 1894; p. 255. *Records of the Past*, Series I, vol. vj, p. 129; Cnf. *Ibid.*, vj, 118.

⁴ A story from the times of the twelfth dynasty: *Records of the Past*, Series I, vol. vi, p. 149.

Anointing with oil, either scented or not, was commonly practised by the Hebrews; and its omission was a sign of mourning.¹ Hence the phrase "to anoint" became a poetical synonym for "to gladden" or rejoice.² Judith,³ after putting "off the garment of her widowhood," "anointed her face with ointment, and bound up her hair in a tire": and the Preacher,⁴ in giving directions for rejoicing, says: "Let thy garment be always white and let thy head lack no ointment."

In domestic use the latter Jews were as fond of perfumes as any other Orientals. "All thy garments smell of myrrh and aloes and cassia," says a Psalmist.⁵ "I have perfumed my bed with myrrh, aloes, and cinnamon; come, let us take our fill of love until the morning," is the invitation of the wanton woman in Proverbs⁶: and similar allusions occur in Canticles. At banquets the "ointment and perfume (*ḵēṭôreth*)" which "rejoice the heart" are again in evidence⁷: more usually the head and face were anointed, as a greater luxury the feet also.⁸ Flowers in garlands and otherwise were employed, at anyrate by the Alexandrian Jews⁹: "Let us fill ourselves with costly wine and perfumes, and let no flower of spring pass us by; let us crown ourselves with rosebuds before they be withered." On the table of Ohōlah and Ohōlibah (symbolical names for Samaria and Jerusalem) was set incense, *ḵēṭôreth*, and oil, and the multitude that sat there had bracelets on their hands and garlands on their heads.¹⁰ In later times a

¹ 2 Samuel xiv, 2. Daniel x, 3.

² Psalm xxiiij, 5: xlv, 7.

³ Judith x, 3.

⁴ Ecclesiastes ix, 8.

⁵ Psalm xlv, 8. Canticles iv 11.

⁶ Proverbs vij, 17. *Cnf.* Canticles iv, 14.

⁷ Proverbs xxvij, 9.

⁸ Psalm xxiiij, 5: civ, 15: cxlj, 5; Judith xvj, 10; Ecclesiastes ix, 8; St. Matthew vj, 17; St. Luke vij, 38; St. Luke vij, 46; St. John xij, 3.

⁹ Wisdom ij, 7.

¹⁰ Ezekiel xxiiij, 41, 42.

special kind of incense called *Mughmâr* sprinkled upon hot coals, was handed round, before the symposium, for the guests to perfume their clothes and persons therewith.¹

Herodotus tells us that amongst the Scythians it was customary to put the seeds of *cannabis*, hemp, on hot stones and to let the vapour therefrom arising play over the person, instead of taking a bath²: their women used to bruise cypress, cedar, and incense-tree woods and coat themselves with a poultice made of the same, to give their bodies a pleasant odour³: and on the following day they removed the aromatic paste, leaving their bodies clean and shining.

Arabian women of the present day⁴ are accustomed to perfume themselves by squatting over a pan or slow-fire of burning aromatic spices: and the practice of so doing is probably of very great antiquity amongst them. Allusions to the practice are common throughout the collection popularly known as the "Arabian Nights." For instance, in the story of Nûr-ed-dîn 'Ali of Cairo,⁵ the lady of beauty comes forth as the bride, "scented sandal and musk and ambergris, lo! she comes." When Ahnaf ben Kaïs was minded to approach his wife, he told her to perfume herself.⁶ The Persian, who owned the enchanted horse, entered the garden of the palace, and "scenting the fragrance of musks and essences that exhaled from the

¹ *Legum mischnicarum liber*, Bésî, cap. ij: n. 7: Amstelædami, 1699; t. ij, p. 290. There are three Arabic words for censer: *Midhanah*—with the rootsense of a place or vessel where smoke is made; *Mibharah*—rootsense, a vessel to make fumes or vapours in; and *Mijmarah*—rootsense, a vessel to hold live coals. The last appears to be cognate with the Hebrew *Mughmâr*. Lane says that a *Mijmarah* is disapproved because generally made of silver, whereas *Midhanah* is only made of baked clay.

² Herodotus, *Melpomene*, IV: cap. 75.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ S. Baker, *The Nile Tributaries of Abyssinia*, London, 1894; pp. 81-2: and for their method of perfuming their hair, p. 83. *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, iij, 3512.

⁵ *The Book of the Thousand Nights and one Night*, transl. by John Payne, Villon Society, 1882; vol. j, p. 194.

⁶ *Ibid.* vol. ij, 86.

princess's person, and perfumed the whole place," was able to follow her up, and run off with her.¹

In the tale of Mesrûr and Zain el Mewâsif, the latter censes herself with aloes-wood, and scents herself with musk and ambergris, in anticipation of Mesrûr's coming.² Her sister Nesîm seals the letter which Mesrûr wrote to Zain with virgin musk, and censed it with aloes-wood and ambergris³; and Zain sprinkles her answering letter with musk and ambergris.⁴ Zain used perfumes to a somewhat excessive extent, for when Mesrûr found himself in the street in which her house was situate, he smelt the sweet savour of the perfumes with which she had censed the house.⁵

Some verses on a beautiful lady⁶ speak of "the scent her creases hold of ambergris and myrrh."

Men also used perfumes freely. The Christian Broker, a Copt of Cairo, before going to see his mistress, rose and changed his clothes, and perfumed himself with essences and sweet scented smoke.⁷ In the story of Tâj el Malûk and the princess Dunyâ the bridegroom's clothes are perfumed before the wedding.⁸

At banquets and festive occasions the use of perfumes is frequent amongst the peoples depicted in the Arabian Nights. In the story of the Porter and the three Ladies of Bagdâd, the three Kalandars come into the room where the porter and the three ladies were disporting themselves,⁹ and see "a pleasant place and a table elegantly spread with flowers, and fruits, and green herbs, and dessert, and wine, with

¹ *Ibid.*, 1883; vol. iv, p. 164.

² *Ibid.*, 1884; vol. viij, p. 20.

³ *Ibid.*, 42.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 43.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 60.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 78. *Cnf.* vol. iij, p. 78.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 1882; vol. i, p. 240.

⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. ij, p. 223. *Cnf.* vol. viij, pp. 42, 60, 78, 181; vol. ix, pp. 57-8-9.

⁹ *The Book of the Thousand Nights and one Night*, translated by John Payne for the Villon Society, 1882; vol. i, p. 80.

[To face p. 64.]



Fancy picture of a knight in armour censing a
gothic altar. XVth century.

candles burning, and perfumes smoking, and the three maidens with their faces unveiled." In the history of King 'Umar ben En'umân and his sons,¹ Abrizeh entertains Serkân, and "they both ate till they were satisfied, after which she let bring perfumes and sweet-smelling herbs and wines of all colours and kinds, in vessels of gold and silver and crystal." The Halîfeh Harûn er-Rešîd visits his harîm²: "and then came fair maids and slave girls with lighted flambeaux and perfumes and essences and instruments of music." In the story of 'Alâ-ed-dîn and Abu-eš-Sâmât,³ at a banquet "the attendants served them with sherbets, and perfumed them with the fragrant smoke of scented woods." Censers full of Sumatran aloes-wood figure in Ishâk of Mauşil's story of the Lady Hadîjeh.⁴ In the story of Ardeşir and Heyât en-Nufûs the harîm is perfumed with musk and aloes-wood and ambergris⁵: and on proof of the lady's maidenhood the Court rejoices greatly, and they bring forth the casting-bottles and perfume all the officers of state and the grandees.⁶ Public baths also are rendered fragrant with censers burning aloes-wood.⁷

Athenaeus, who tells us a great deal of the banquets of the Greeks, says that after the first course the tables were removed, water was brought round for the guests to wash their hands, with ointments and incense, to per-

¹ *Ibid.*, vol. ij, p. 22.

² *Ibid.*, 1883; vol. iij, p. 58 (the story of 'Ali ben Bikâr and Šams-en-Nahâr). *Cnf.* the harîm on pp. 239, 347.

³ *Ibid.*, iij, 259. *Cnf. Acta Thomae Apostoli in Apocryphal Gospels, Acts, and Revelations*, Antenicene Christian Library, 1870; t. xvj, pp. 391-92.

⁴ *Ibid.*, iij, 340.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1883; vol. iv, 351.

Ibid., iv, 358.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 1884; vol. viij, pp. 313, 317. *Cnf.* vol. iv, p. 205.

fume themselves, and garlands of flowers to put on their heads.¹

The practice of the Romans was the same. "See that what is necessary is done," says Erotium in Plautus' *Menaechmi*², giving directions for a feast; "arrange the couches, kindle the perfumes." Cicero refers to the burning of perfumes, and the wearing of wreathes of flowers³ at banquets, in similar terms: and after him Seneca mentions the "various odours" which accompanied such festivities.⁴ Heliogabalus liked to be surrounded by either flowers or precious odours, and fumigated the dwelling rooms with Indian perfumes.⁵ Balsam and saffron were used in the time of Hadrian to perfume the theatre, in honour of Trajan.⁶

The Greek and Roman women were as addicted to the use of perfumes as any others, under the Emperors; and allusions to the practice are frequent.⁷

¹ Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, Lib. IX: cap. ; Lib. XV: cap. x: Lugduni, 1657; pp. 408, 685. For the use of ointments by women, see Achilles Tatius, Lib. II: cap. xxxviii, ap. G. A. Hirschig, *Erotici Scriptores*, Parisijs, 1856; p. 55.

² M. Accius Plautus, *Menaechmi*, Act II, scene iiij, ll. 2, 3.

³ M. Tullius Cicero, *Tusculanae Disputationes*, Lib. III: cap. xviii: § 43. *Cnf.* Sextus Aurelius Propertius, Lib. I: Elegia ij, l. 3; Lib. II: Elegia xxij, l. 17; Lib. III: Elegia viij, l. 21: Elegia xij, l. 28. Albius Tibullus, Lib. VI: Elegia vj, ll. 64-5.

⁴ L. A. Seneca, *De vita beata*, cap. xj. For similar practices at the Byzantine Court in the tenth century, see Constantius Porphyrogennetus, *De cerimonijs aulae byzantinae*, Lib. II: cap. xv: Lipsiae, 1751-54; t. ij, pp. 338, 342.

⁵ Aelius Lampridius, *Vita Antonini Heliogabali*, 29, 31. *Cnf.* C. Surtonius Tranquillus, *Vita Neronis Claudii Caesaris*, 25. St. Clement of Alexandria, *Paedagogus*, Lib. II: cap. viij, on the perfuming and fumigation of wearing apparel, bed-clothes, houses, &c., in his days. P. Ovidius Naso, *Ars Amatoria*, III, 443.

⁶ Aelius Spartianus, *Vita Hadriani*, 19.

⁷ Q. Horatius Flaccus, *Carmina*, Lib. I: ode v; *Epod.*, ode xvij, l. 23. Albius Tibullus, Lib. III: Elegia iv, l. 28. P. Ovidius Naso, *Metamorphoses*, Lib. V, l. 53. Chariton, *De Chaerea et Callirrhoe*, Lib. I: cap. iv (G. A. Hirschig, *Erotici Scriptores*, Parisijs, 1856; p. 419). Achilles Tatius, Lib. II: cap. xxxviii (*Ibid.*, p. 55).

This, however, is not the whole truth as to the origin of the use of incense as a sacrifice to the gods. We learn from Pliny that the Minaeans used to collect the gum frankincense with great mystery and religious ceremonial precautions. The men who gathered it were regarded as sacred: for fear of ceremonial pollution they avoided all intercourse with women, and contact with a dead body.¹ The incense-trees were peculiarly sacred. They were reputed to be guarded by winged serpents, who had to be driven away by the fumes of burning storax before the gatherers could approach to collect the frankincense.² The story at any rate bears witness to the religious character of harvesting of the gum.

Robertson Smith thought that incense owed its original virtue to the belief that it was the blood of an animate and divine tree.³ Amongst the Egyptians we find traces of this notion in some of the magical texts. "When Heru weeps, the water that falls from his eyes grows into plants producing a sweet perfume.⁴ When Su and Tefnut weep much, and water falls from their eyes, it changes into plants that produce incense." Similarly, cedars grow from the blood flowing from Bata's nose.⁵

This theory is supported by the Graeco-Roman myth of Leucothoë. As told by Ovid, that fable runs as follows. Apollo, the Sun-god, fell in love with Leucothoë, daughter of Orchamus king of Persia, and his Arabian wife Eurynome, daughter of Oceanus and Tethyos. Clytie, one of Apollo's

¹ C. Plinius Secundus, *Hist. Nat.*, lib. XII: cap. xiv. Of the gatherers he says: "sacros vocari ob id. Nec ullo congressu feminarum funerumque cum incidant eas arbores, aut metant pollui, atque de religione merces augeri."

² Herodotus, *Thalia*, III: cap. 107.

³ W. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, London, 1894; p. 427. *Cnf.* 133; where he points out that gum acacia owed its value as an amulet in part to the idea that it is a clot of menstruous blood, *i.e.* that the tree is a woman, or a divine tree.

⁴ *Records of the Past*, Series I, vol. vj, 115.

⁵ Enna, *The Tale of the Two Brothers*, in *Records of the Past*, Series I, vol. ij, p. 150.

cast off loves, in revenge discovered the affair to Orchamus, who promptly ordered his daughter to be buried alive. Apollo, unable to help or revive her, poured nectar over her corpse, and changed her into an incense-tree. The poet tells how Apollo exclaimed

After much complaint : " Yet thou *shalt* rise up to the heavens."
Quickly her body dissolves, imbued with celestial nectar,
While all around it the soil is filled with a heavenly fragrance.
Then, by slow degrees, rose up from the earth a well-rooted
Fragrant incense-tree, and burst through the top of the barrow.¹

We conclude, therefore, that the use of incense primarily arose from the notion that it was the blood of a divine tree, and so was an inheritance from primitive tree-worship. But although dendrolatry was at one time the religion of the Hebrews,² Egyptians,³ Greeks, and Romans,⁴ it is quite certain that neither the two latter nor the first-named peoples adopted the use of perfumes in divine worship from that cause ; for at the time when that innovation was made, their religious development had long passed the stage of tree-worship, which then only flourished as a superstition

¹ P. Ovidius Naso, *Metamorphoses*, Lib. IV, ll. 251 sq.

² Holy trees are frequently referred to in the Old Testament ; there was one at Shechem, Genesis xij, 6 ; xxxv, 4 : Joshua xxiv, 26 : Judges ix, 6 (*'êlôn môveh*) ; another at Hebron, Genesis xiiij, 18 ; xvij, 1 ; another at Beersheba, Genesis xxj, 33 ; and at Gibeah, 1 Samuel xiv, 2 : xxij, 6. Jeremiah, Ezekiel and Deuteronomy denounce those who set up altars under luxuriant trees : *e.g.* Jerem. ij, 20 : iij, 6, 13 : xvij, 2. Ezekiel, vj, 13 : xx, 28. Deut. xij, 2. *Cnf.* 2 Kings xvj, 4. W. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, London, 1894 ; pp. 185 sq.

³ See W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Religion and Conscience in Ancient Egypt*, London, 1898 ; pp. 34 sq. A. Wiedemann, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, London, 1897 ; pp. 154 sq.

⁴ The numerous tree-myths point to this, *e.g.*, the almond tree grew out of the excised sexual organs of the hemaphrodite Agdistis (Pausanias, *Graeciae Descriptio*, Lib. VII : cap. xvij : Lipsiae, 1795 ; t. ij, 298). Arnobius says it was a pomegranate tree (*Adv. Gentes*, v : 6). From the genitals of Attis and his blood, the violet springs up : the tears of the mother of the gods give rise to an almond tree (*Ibid.* 7). One need not do more than mention the similar myths of Daphne, Myrrha, Narcissus, and Hyacinth, &c., &c.

of the uncultured and ignorant. Probably the case was the same with the Egyptians and Babylonians; but as we do not know when they first began to use incense, it is impossible to come to any definite conclusion.

§ II—*As a Sacrifice*

The primitive idea of sacrifice is that it is a gift to the god, which in some way or other affords a real satisfaction to the deity: or if it does not actually feed him, he is at any rate pleased by the odour thereof. In the next stage of ideas, the sacrifice had to be etherialised by fire to reach the god.

This is how the Egyptians in the historic period regarded the incense-offering. In a hymn to Âmen-Râ, of about the twelfth century B.C., the following passage, mentioning various things grateful to the god, occurs:—

Balsam and incense together in the land of the Mât'aû,
Fresh incense for thy nostrils.¹

and in a *Hymn of Praise to Râ when he riseth in the eastern part of the heavens*, of somewhat later date, similar language appears.

The land of Pûn-t is established for the perfumes which
thou smellest with thy nostrils.²

At Babylon it was the same: "the glorious gods³ smell the incense, noble food of heaven; pure wine, which no hand has touched, do they enjoy." When Tsît-napištim⁴ spread his vases and burned incense after the cessation of the Deluge, "the gods smelled the savour, the gods smelled the sweet savour; the gods gathered like flies about him that offered

¹ Alfred Wiedemann, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, London, 1897; p. 116. *Records of the Past*, Series I, vol. ij, p. 134.

² *The Book of the Dead*, Edit., E. A. W. Budge, British Museum, 1895; p. 250. *Cnf.* Iamblicus, *De mysterijs liber*, sect. iij: cap. xxiv: Oxford, 1678; p. 91.

³ J. Jeremias, in *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, iv, 4119, quoting Rawlinson, *Cuneif. Inscrif.* IV, 19 (59). *Cnf.* the story of *Bel and the Dragon*.

⁴ L. W. King, *Babylonian Religion and Mythology*, London, 1899; p. 136.

the sacrifice." They offered incense with a view to getting some favour in return: "I present incense to you,¹ agreeable vapour; look at me truly, hear my words."

The Hebrews had the same ideas of sacrifice. The frequent use of the phrase "the food of god," even in comparatively late passages, shows the purpose for which the offerings so designated were intended.² When Noah³ offered his burnt-offerings on the cessation of the Deluge, "Yahweh smelled a soothing odour (*re^ah nîho^ah*)."⁴ David proposes to appease Yahweh,⁴ if it be He who has stirred Saul up against him: "If Yahweh have stirred thee up against me, let him smell an offering." When Yahweh is angry,⁵ he refuses to smell the savour of their sweet odours. In the *Blessing of Moses*, a poem belonging to the northern kingdom, and written c. 760 B.C., the offering of sacrifices is mentioned as a prerogative of the tribe of Levi:

Let them teach Jacob thy judgments, and Israel thy law:
Let them offer sacrificial-smoke (*kefôreth*) to thy nostrils, and
whole burnt sacrifice upon thine altar.⁶

So pleasing, indeed, was the offering thought to be, that a Psalmist could pray to Yahweh,

May my prayer go up before thee like the incense (*kefôreth*).⁷

Moses ben Maimon suggested that the Israelites used incense to do away with the stench of the burning flesh in

¹ L. W. King, *Babylonian Magic*, London, 1896; p. 17. Compare some of the Gallican prayers of incense, p. 125 etc.

² Leviticus xxi, 6, 8, 17, 22 (cnf. iij, 11); xxij, 25. Numbers xxviii, 2, 24. Ezekiel xliv, 7 (cnf. xvj, 19). Cnf. Malachi j, 7, 11. The other gods worshipped by them, "eat the fat of their sacrifices and drink the wine of their oblations" in Deuteronomy xxxij, 38. W. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, London, 1894; p. 225.

³ Genesis viij, 21.

⁴ 1 Samuel xxvj, 19.

⁵ Leviticus xxvj, 31. Amos v, 21.

⁶ Deuteronomy xxxij, 10.

⁷ Psalm xlj, 21.

their sacrifices.¹ But this could hardly have been the case. The incense-offering took place before² the burnt offering ; it was offered in a temple practically empty, at some considerable distance from the people³ who were outside : and the burnt-offerings took place on the large altar outside the temple.⁴ Moreover, the small quantity of frank-incense that was burnt on the great altar occasionally, once a week only, and not daily, was quite insufficient to quell the scent of the daily burnt-offerings.

The Greeks and Romans were also of the same mind with regard to the notion of sacrifice. The gods in the *Iliad* feast on the hecatombs⁵ offered to them : in the *Odyssey* the same idea likewise presents itself.⁶ A similar notion is conveyed by the epithet *αἰγοφάγος*, *Goat Eater*, under which title the Lacedaemonians, alone of all the Greeks, worshiped Hera⁷ : and by the kindred epithets *κριοφάγος*, *Ram-Eater*,⁸ *ὠμηστής*, *Eater of Raw Flesh*,⁹ and *ὠμάδιος*, applied to Dionysos.

The Latin writers are the most clear. To their minds it was evident that the gods liked incense and took a great pleasure in its fragrant smoke, so much so indeed that they resented having to do without it. In fact, the best way to put a deity in a good temper, and so gain a favourable

¹ Maimonides, *Morch* III : cap. xlv : Edit. E. Schlosberg, London, 1851 ; p. 69.

² G. H. Box in *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, iv, 4955, from Mishna, V, 9, *Támíd*.

³ *Ibid.*, Exodus xxx, 6 ; xl, 5, 26.

⁴ Exodus xl, 6, 29.

⁵ *Iliad*, viij, 531 : ἄλλοι δὲ θεοὶ δαίνυνθ' ἱκατόμβας.

⁶ *Odyssey*, j, 26 : Εὐθ' ὅγε τέρπετο δαυτὶ παρήμενος.

⁷ Pausanias, *Graeciae Descriptio*, Lib. III : cap. xv : §7 ; Lipsiae, 1794 ; t. j, p. 397.

⁸ Liddell and Scott's Greek Lexicon, s. v. *κριοφάγος*, from Hesychius. *Ibid.*, s. v. *ὠμηστής*, citing *Anthologia Platina*, 9, 524 ; and Plutarch 2, 462. s. v. *ὠμάδιος*, citing *Orphic Hymn* 29, 5 ; and Euelp. *apud* Porphyry, *Abstinent.*, 2, 55.

⁹ Cnf. Orpheus, *Lithica* 18, *Διμαρτικός*, l. 5 : Οὐρανός, ὠμηστήρος ἑπὰν παλάμησι Κρόνον Διῷθευ.

hearing, was to offer it a pinch of incense. Horace¹ hopes that Venus will use her influence over Glycera in his favour, after his sacrifice of vervain, frankincense, and a flagon of new wine: in another ode he appeals to Venus to go to Glycera who is invoking her with abundance of frankincense.² Again, he assures her that if she will help Paullus Maxumus to prevail over a rich rival,

Then he'll set by the Alban Lake
Thy form, carved in stone, under a citron roof;
Much incense to thy nostrils there
Shall thou lead, and be made glad with the mingled strains
Of lyre and berecynthian pipe.³

The god is represented as coming to receive the honours paid to his statue:

'Tis her birthday, speak propitious words at the altars;
Whosoever draws't nigh, woman or man, say no ill.
Burn the incense owed to the gods on the altar, burn perfumes
Which the Arab so mild sends from his sumptuous land.
May the tutelar god come himself to see his own honours,
Round whose holy locks many soft wreathes they will twine.⁴

According to Ovid, Venus revenged herself on an unfortunate couple, Atlantis and her winner Hippomanes, who forgot to return thanks for the help which the goddess had afforded him in the race. She tells the story to Adonis thus:—

Tell me, Adonis, say was I not worthy the off'ring of grateful
Thanks, and the honours of incense? and yet he of thanks is forgetful,
Nor does he bring me incense. A sudden anger inflames me.
Furious at the slight, and lest I be spurned in the future,
Them an example I make, and against the pair I arouse me.⁵

Even Niobe grumbles because, though other deities are having their fill of incense, none has been burned in her

¹ G. Horatius Flaccus, *Carmina*, Lib. I: ode xix, ll. 13 sq.

² *Ibid.*, Lib. I: ode xxx, ll. 2 sq.

³ *Ibid.*, Lib. IV: ode j, ll. 19 sq.

⁴ Albius Tibullus, Lib. II: elegia ij, ll. 1 sq.

⁵ P. Ovidius Naso, *Metamorphoses*, Lib. X, ll. 181 sq. *Cnf. Fasti*, Lib. IV, ll. 145 sq.

honour ; in spite of the fact that she is as much divine as the best of them, in right of her grandfather Iuppiter.¹ The wickedness of mankind became so great that Iuppiter determined on a universal deluge, and informs the council of the gods. He concludes his speech with these words :—

“Wickedness they seem sworn to work. But soon they shall suffer
Well deserved punishment, for so I’m determined.”
Some by their words approve Jove’s speech, and urge on his fury,
Others fulfil their parts and assent with appropriate gesture.
Still, the entire destruction of all mankind is trouble
To them all, and they ask what will earth’s form be in future
When all mortals are gone ? and who will bring to the altars
Incense ?²

Iuppiter however reassures them : he has thought of that contingency, and intends to provide a new race who will fulfil that obligation.³

The following passage from Juvenal not only illustrates the incense sacrifice, but also mentions the offering of pretty flowers and the practice of decorating with branches of trees and with lamps as a sign of rejoicing.

Here will I placate my own Jove, and offer up incense
To my parental Lares, and cast down all colours of violets.
All things are gay : my gateway now is adorned with tall branches
And is keeping the feast with lanterns lit in the morning.⁴

Still even the sacrifice of incense was not all powerful : there were limits to the benefits which it would obtain. Persius wrote :—

But *one* thing no incense ever will gain you ;
That a short half-ounce of sense in fools be inherent.⁵

¹ *Ibid.*, Lib. VI, ll 165 sq.

² *Ibid.*, Lib. I, ll 242 sq. *Cnf.* Lib II, ll 288-9.

³ *Cnf.* the following *Enigma* of Caelius Firmianus Symposius on *Tus* (*Poetae latini minores*, edit. N. E. Lemaire, Parisijs, 1826 ; t. viij, p. 386). Date unknown : perhaps an African writer.

Dulcis odor nemoris flamma fumoque fatigor,
et placet hoc superis, medios quod mitter in ignes
cum mihi peccandi meritum natura negaret.

⁴ D. Iunius Iuvenal Aquinas, *Satira* XII, ll 89. *Cnf.* Q. Sept. Flor. Tertullianus, *Apologeticus*, cap. xxv.

⁵ A. Persius Flaccus, *Satira* V, ll 126 sq.

They who offered incense naturally expected some benefit in return. "Why waste incense on Neptune, if one is not to have a quiet passage through the Black Sea," says Ovid.¹ As a consolation to the poor they are told that the incense which a poor man offers to the gods out of his little box² is of no less avail than that which is given from a broad dish : which reminds us of the story of the widow's mites.³

§ III—*Divine Odour of Deities*

The notion that incense was grateful to the deity to whom it was offered is closely connected with another, to wit, that deities were redolent of perfume themselves.

We find this in Egyptian poems. Thus Åusâr in addressed in the Festival Songs of Åset and Nebt-het :—

The people of the North are in thy recollection,
Thou receivest a head of hair from them,
The breezes which accompany thee are of incense (*ânti*).⁴

and again :—

When thou comest from the Divine Land
There is odorous unguent on thy hair,
There is unguent on thy hair of *ânti* which cometh forth of its
own accord.⁵

A *Hymn of Praise* to Åmen-Râ of the twelfth century B.C. tells how :

The gods love his perfume
When he cometh from Pûn-t.⁶

The goddess Het-Heru is described in Litany of Seker as having

ânti upon her hair and her head, in her name of Nit.⁷

¹ P. Ovidius Naso, *Ex Ponto*, Lib. II, epistola, ix, ll 21-28.

² *Ibid.*, Lib. IV, epistola viij, ll 39-40. But niggardliness was not commended: *Metamorph.*, Lib. VII, ll. 398 sq.

³ St. Mark xij, 42-44. St. Luke xxj, 2-4.

⁴ *Archaeologia*, 1890; lij, 408, 471.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 413, 485.

⁶ Alfred Wiedemann, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, London, 1897; p. 112.

⁷ *Archaeologia*, 1890; lij, 418, 497.

Ambrosial locks are characteristic, too, of the gods and goddesses of both Greek and Roman mythology, and the poets frequently refer to the divine odour¹ exhaled from deities. One can rest assured, says Ovid, that the vanished form was that of a goddess, by reason of the perfume which she left behind her.²

To some extent this idea passed over into Christian use, for in the Syriac *Doctrine of the Twelve Apostles*³ we read that at Pentecost "a mysterious voice was heard by them [*i.e.* the apostles and our Lady], and a sweet odour which was strange to this earth breathed on them." But more will be said of this in the next part.

That such sweet odours are never said to have accompanied any of the manifestations of Yahweh is probably due to the fact that, originally, Yahweh was regarded by the Israelites as the Storm-God, and thunder, lightning and rain are his special accompaniments.⁴ In Assyria the Rain-god was worshipped under this name. Ašur-nâsir-pal (c. 883-858) describes himself as the proclaimer of the Moongod, the worshipper of Anu, exalter of Yav.⁵ He ascribes his victories to Yav amongst other gods; and calls Yav the great ruler of heaven and earth, for whom (with other gods) he built a temple.⁶ He has recorded how he rushed on his enemies like Yav the Inundator.⁷ So too, Nabû-kudur-ušur II (c. 604-561) speaks of him as :

The good Yav, the establisher of fertility,

The good Yav, who confers the fertilizing rain on my land.⁸

¹ *E.g.*, Amongst less frequently quoted passages, Theognis, *Gnomai*, ll 8, 9: Πάσα μὲν ἐπλήθη Δῆλος ἀπειρεσίῃ ὀσμῆς ἀμβροσίης, when Latona gave birth to Apollo. *Cnf.* Vergil, *Georgica*, iv, 415: *Aeneis*, j, 403. Homeric Hymn IV, *In Cereem*, l. 332.

² Publius Ovidius Naso, *Fasti*, Lib. V, l. 376. *Cnf.* Homeric Hymn II, *In Mercurium*, l. 237.

³ *Anti-Nicene Christian Library*, Edinburgh, 1871; vol. xx, p. 7.

⁴ Exodus xix, 16, 18; xx, 18; xxiv, 17. Psalm lxxvij, 17, 18; xcviij, 4, 5.

⁵ *Records of the Past*, Series I, vol. iij, p. 42.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 46, 49, 64.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 77. *Cnf.* 1 Kings xix, 11; Job xxxviii, 1; Ps. xxix, 10; Ezek. j, 4; Nah. j, 3.

⁸ *Records of the Past*, Series I, vol. v, p. 123. *Cnf.* Pss. lxxv, 10, 11; lxxviii, 9; cxliv, 5, 6.

§ IV—*Conclusion*

To sum up. The pre-Christian uses of incense divide themselves into : (1) Incense as a sacrifice to the deity ; (2) As a demonifuge to drive away evil spirits ; (3) As a sacrifice to the shades of a deceased human being ; (4) As a symbol of honour to a living person ; (5) As an accompaniment to festivities, processions of rejoicing, etc ; and (6) As a refreshing perfume at banquets, and other occasions.

There is an important point to recall to mind about the first of these. Whereas amongst the Egyptians, Hebrews, and other Orientals, the right to offer incense was a prerogative of the priesthood, in which order their kings were included, both Greeks and Romans regarded it as a duty incumbent on all.¹ But though all could offer it, it could only be presented to a deity or deified man, and to offer it was to acknowledge the divinity of the person to whom it was offered. Ovid brings this teaching out very clearly. Aeneas promises the Sybil, in return for her assistance in visiting the nether regions :

Temples to thee will I build, I will give thee the honours of incense.

But she regretfully declines, saying :—

Goddess none am I, nor is the honour of incense
Meet for a human head.²

However, though this may have been the strictly orthodox teaching, we certainly find lights and incense³

¹ *E.g.*, Octavian ordered that every senator should offer incense and wine at the altar of the god in whose temple the senate then assembled (C. Suetonius Tranquillus, *Vita C. I. Caesaris Octav. Aug.*, cap. xxxv). L. Appuleius had a custom of carrying about an image of some god among his books, to which he used on feast days to offer incense and wine (*Opera*, Parisijs, 1688 ; j, 506).

² P. Ovidius Naso, *Metamorphoses*, Lib. XIV, ll. 128 sq.

³ M. Tullius Cicero, *De Officijs*, Lib. III : cap. xx : § 80. See p. 55. Compare the libations offered to C. Marius after his defeat of the Cimbri (Plutarch, *Vita Marii*, 27), and, for the Greeks, the divine worship paid to Alexander the Great in his lifetime (Strabo, xiv ; 953. Quintus Curtius, Lib. VIII : cap. v. Plutarch, *Vita Alexandri magni*).

offered to popular heroes and emperors, and their statues, even though they were alive.

The number three was held sacred amongst both Greeks and Romans: and hence we find that they offered three fold libations, censed thrice and so on.¹ This triplification appeared again in the ceremonial of the later middle ages, and of the Renaissance, in the groups of three swings given to the censer.

¹ Theocritus, *Idyllion*, ij, 43: Ἐς τρίς ἀποσπένδω, καὶ τρίς ταδε, πότνια φωνῶ. P. Vergilius Maro, *Ecl.*, viij, 73: "Terna tibi haec primum triplici diversa colore licia circumdo, terque altaria circum effigiem duco. Numero deus impare gaudet." P. Ovidius Naso, *Metamorph.*, vij, 261: "Terque senam flamma, ter aqua, ter sulfure lustras." Albius Tibullus, Lib. I, *Elegia* ij, l. 56: "Ter cane, ter dictis despue carminibus"; Lib. IV: *Carmen* vj, l. 14: "Ter tibi fit libo, ter, dea casta, mero." M. Aurelius Olympius Nemesianus, *Ecloga* iv, ll. 62-3: Quid prodest quod me pagani mater Amyntae ter vittis, ter fronde sacra, ter ture vapore lustravit, cineresque aversa effudit in amnem." Gratius Faliscus, *Cynegeticon*, ll. 440 sq: "Liceatque attingere fontes, sancte, tuos, ter quisque vocant, ter pingua libant tura foco."

PART II



CHRISTIAN USES OF INCENSE



The Blessed Virgin Mary and the Holy Child with attendant angels
censing. From an English XIIIth century psalter.

CHAPTER I

INCENSE DURING THE FIRST THREE CENTURIES OF THE CHRISTIAN ERA

We have now reviewed the pre-Christian methods of using incense and other perfumes, and endeavoured to understand their rationale. Let us therefore turn to Christianity, and see what was done with such luxuries by the Church.

With one accord the Christian writers, of the first three centuries at least, use language incompatible with the use of incense and lights in public worship. The author of the so called Epistle of St. Barnabas,¹ after quoting Isaiah's uncompromising denunciation of sacrifices, burnt-offerings, incense, sabbaths, and new moons, continues : " these things therefore hath God abolished, that the new law of our Lord Jesus Christ, which is without the yoke of any such necessity, might have the spiritual offering of men themselves." Athenagoras,² defending Christians from the charge of being atheists because they did not offer sacrifices, says : " The Creator and Father of this Universe needs neither blood nor the savour of sacrifices, nor the fragrance of flowers and incense, Himself being the perfect fragrance, needing nothing and requiring nothing more."

Justin Martyr³ explains the origin of all the *piacula* of

¹ The Catholic Epistle of St. Barnabas, cap. ij.

² *Legatio pro Christianis*, cap. 13; Migne, *Patr. gr.*, vj, 916

³ *Apologia II*, cap V. The idea can be traced to the *Book of Enoch*, chap. vij. The fallen angels "taught them charms and enchantments, and made them acquainted with the cutting of roots and of woods" (Edit. R. H. Charles, Oxford, 1893; pp. 64 sq.). Compare chap xix, p. 91. In the *Book of Jubilees*, chap. x, God tells an angel to teach Noah the medicines which heal and protect from evil spirits (Edit. R. H. Charles, London, 1902; p. 81).

heathendom ; stating that the angels were captivated by love of women, and begat children of them, who are those beings which are known as devils ; and these afterwards subdued the human race, partly by magical writings, partly by fears and punishments, and partly by teaching them to offer sacrifices, incense, and libations, of which they stood in need since they had let themselves be enslaved by the passion of concupiscence. At a later period, he adds, the poets ascribed the introduction of these things to Almighty God, not knowing who had obtained them. In his first Apology,¹ he denies that Christians are atheists : they worship the Creator of all things, though not with blood, nor libations, nor incense, but with the spiritual offerings of prayer and thanksgiving.

Irenæus,² after quoting Jeremiah vj, 20, Isaiah xliij, 23, 24, and some other passages, continues : “ From all of which texts it is plain that God sought not of them [*i.e.* the Jews] sacrifices and burnt offerings, but faith, obedience and righteousness for their salvation.” In both of those passages from the Prophets Yahweh repudiates the incense-sacrifice, amongst others. Then later,³ speaking of the Eucharist, he quotes Malachi, i, 10, 11, which, he affirms, intimates “ that while the former people should cease to make offerings unto God, in every place sacrifice shall be offered unto Him, and that in purity.” In the next chapter⁴ he makes the following comment upon the verse of Malachi so often quoted in favour of the use of incense : “ *And in every place incense is offered unto my Name, and a pure sacrifice.* And incense, John, in the Apocalypse declares to be the prayers of the saints ” (Rev., v, 8). Clearly then, Irenæus understood the text not in a material and literal sense, but in a spiritual and mystical.

¹ Iustinus Martyr, *Apologia I*, cap. xiiij.

² Irenæus, *Contra omnes hæreses Libri V*, Edit. J. E. Grabe, Lib. IV : cap. xxxij : Oxoniæ et Londini, 1702 ; pp. 322 sq.

³ Irenæus, *adversus Hæreses*, Lib. IV : cap. xxxij ; p. 321.

⁴ *Ibid.*, cap. xxxii ; p. 321. *Cnf.* Eusebius, *Demonst. Evangel.*, Lib. I ; cap v ; Migne, *Patr. gr.*, xxij, 93.

Tertullian¹ asserts that Christians offer to God "by his own command that costly and noble sacrifice of prayer from a chaste body, a pure soul, and a hallowed spirit: but not the few grains of incense that one gets for a farthing, the tears of an arabian tree; not a few drops of wine; not the blood of some worthless beast to which death comes as a relief." A little further on,² in the course of a description of the way in which Christians replaced heathen usages with their own, he says emphatically: "We certainly do not buy any incense. If the Arabians complain, let the Sabaeans know that more, and that the more valuable, of their merchandise is spent in burying Christians than in censuring the gods."

He does not seem to have had any objection to incense as such, but only to the use of it in divine worship, for he says: "I too kill a cock for myself,³ just as Socrates did for Aesculapius; and if the smell of any place offend me, I burn something from Arabia, though not with the same ceremonial, nor the same dress, nor the same accompaniments, wherewith it is used for idols." Nevertheless he freely denounces the trade of incense-seller as absolutely impossible for a Christian.⁴ The man who sells incense is an aider and abettor of idolatry, for burning of incense is idolatry. The offerings of the Magi of gold, frankincense, and myrrh, he affirms⁵ to have been the close of worldly sacrifices which Christ was about to abolish.

Clement of Alexandria⁶ complains that the heathen believe in the holiness of the very ancient altar at Delos which

¹ Q. Sept. Flor. Tertullianus, *Apologeticus*, cap. xxx.

² *Ibid.*, cap. xlij.

³ *De corona militis*, cap. v.

⁴ *De idolatria*, cap. ii.

⁵ *Ibid.*, cap. ix.

⁶ *Stromata*, Lib. vi: cap. vj: § 32. In another place he points out that the Christian priest does not offer costly incense, entrancing the sense of smell: he offers the compound incense mentioned in the Law, consisting of many tongues and voices in prayer, and this is offered not on a material but an intellectual fire (*Stromata*, Lib. vij: cap. 6).

had never been defiled by the blood of sacrificial victims, and yet will not believe Christians when they say "that a righteous soul is the really holy altar, and that the incense arising from it is holy prayer." Elsewhere¹ he explains: "If then we say that the Lord, the great High Priest, offers to God the incense of sweet fragrance, we must not imagine that this is a sacrifice and the fragrance of incense: but we must rather understand it to mean that the Lord brings the acceptable offering of Love, the spiritual fragrance carrying it to the altar." And in the same *Paedagogus*,² quite as definitely: "The sacrifice of the Lord is, He says, a broken heart. How then shall I crown myself or anoint myself with unguents, or offer incense into the Lord? An odour of sweet fragrance, it is said, is the heart that glorifies Him who made it. These are the crowns and sacrifices, the fragrant perfumes and flowers of God."

In the following century Origen³ uses similar language, saying that Christians, "regard the spirit of every good man as an altar, from which ascends incense truly and intelligibly sweet-smelling—the prayers from a pure conscience. Wherefore it is said by John in the Apocalypse, 'The odours are the prayers of the Saints,' and by the Psalmist, 'Let my prayer come before thee as incense'." And in another passage he points out⁴ that there is no comparison between heathen altars and sacrifices, and our altars, and what we may call the incense ascending from them. Elsewhere he says⁵ that the incense which God seeks from us is not that from Arabia, but prayers from a pure heart and a good conscience.

In his *Exhortation to the Martyrs*, Origen puts forward some curious opinions about the use of incense. He is discussing the propriety of burning incense before pagan deities, which

¹ *Paedagogus*, Lib. ij: cap. viij: § 67.

² *Ibid.*, Lib. iij: cap. xj; Migne, *Patr. gr.*, viij, 669.

³ *Contra Celsum*, Lib. viij: cap. 17.

⁴ *Ibid.*, cap. 20.

⁵ *Homilia xij in Levit*: § 5; Migne, *Patr. gr.*, xij, 550.

was at that time the chief test used to discriminate between Christians and non-Christians. Some people, he says, think little of offering sacrifices, not remembering that demons are always on the look-out for sacrificial smoke, or blood-offerings, or incense, which they need as food in order to be able to exist in the gross air near the earth. He then compares persons who offer this nutriment to demons, the makers of mischief, with those who send provisions to bandits and murderers, and the enemies of their sovereign : and considers all persons who so do, to be accessories to the wickedness caused by the demons. By offering incense and other sacrifices they detain the demons on the earth by supplying them with that nourishment without which they could not exist here.¹ It is obvious that a man holding these opinions can only be speaking metaphorically when he says that pride in the case of priests causes that, instead of the sweetness of incense which ought to arise from the Lord's altar, a most foul odour of pride and arrogance should go up.

St. Cyprian of Carthage³ entitles the sixteenth chapter of his first book of *Testimonies against the Jews* : "Quod sacrificium vetus evacuetur et novum celebraretur," that the old sacrifice should be put away and a new one celebrated ; and presently quotes Isaiah i, 11, 12 : Psalm xlix (l) 13-15, and Malachi i, 10-11. The testimony of the chapter is hardly of much weight for or against any use of incense by Christians : but its tendency is against the offering of any material sacrifices to God, and therefore quite opposed to any sacrificial use of incense whatever.

Towards the end of the third century, or the beginning of the fourth, we find Arnobius, the rhetorician of Sicca Veneria near the Numidian border, scoffing freely at the

¹ *Exhortatio ad martyres*, § 45. The Neoplatonist Porphyrius also held the notion that only spectres and evil spirits like odours and incense (*De abstinencia*, Lib. ij : § xliij).

² *Homilia in libro Iudicum*, Lib. iij : cap. ij.

³ Caelius Cyprianus, *Adversus Iudaeos*, Lib. j : cap. xvj.

custom of burning incense, in his book against the heathen.¹ "It is almost a novelty," he declares; the ancient writers never mention it, nor had Etruria, the parent and mother of superstition, any knowledge of it. During the four hundred years in which Alba flourished it was never used; nor did Romulus or Numa know of its existence. "Whence then was its use derived? How was it that the novelty attacked the ancient custom, so that what was not needed for so many ages actually became the most important ceremony?" What reason have you, he asks, for thinking it to be a suitable offering to the gods, or pleasant to their tastes? and what is this sign of respect which comes from the smell of the gum of a tree burning in a fire?² Does this, do you suppose, give honour to the heavenly magnates? or if their displeasure has been aroused at any time, is it really soothed and dissipated by incense-smoke? But if it is smoke that the gods want, why do you not offer them any sort of smoke? or must it only be incense?³ If you answer that incense has a nice smell while other substances have not, tell me if the gods have nostrils, and can they smell with them? But if the gods are *incorporeal*, odours and perfumes can have no effect at all on them, since corporeal substances cannot affect incorporeal beings.⁴

Arnobius further states that Christians are charged with impiety because they do not build temples, nor erect statues and images of any god, nor do they set up altars, nor offer bloody sacrifices, nor incense, nor pour forth wine in libations; all of which he admits to be true.⁵

Lactantius writes in the same strain as his reputed master Arnobius. In the *Divine Institutes* he argues that a corporeal offering ought not to be presented to an

¹ Arnobius, *Adversus gentes*, Lib. vij: cap. xxvj.

² *Ibid.*, cap. xxvij.

³ *Ibid.*, cap. xxviii.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Adversus Gentes*, Lib. vj: cap. j. *Cnf.* "We offer no incense nor libations of wine" (*Ibid.*, cap. iij).

incorporeal being, and teaches that incense and other perfumes used in sacrifices to the gods are unsuitable for offering to the Being of pre-eminent goodness, whose sacrifice consists only of blessing.¹

Eusebius,² still later, writes that Almighty God "has not chosen that fragrantcy which comes from bodily substances, nor has he preferred what is pleasant to the senses. . . . He does not make great account of ointments and incense." And in another work he quotes the Neoplatonist Porphyry,³ saying that he, under the influence of sane and correct thought, admits that we ought not to offer any incense or sacrifice to the supreme God, nor even to the heavenly powers that are under him.

The author of the commentary on Isaiah, attributed formerly to St. Basil,⁴ says: "Incense is now an abomination unto the Lord. For truly is it an execrable thing to think that God values the pleasures of the sense of smell, . . . and not to understand that the hallowing of the body, effected by the sobriety of the soul, is the incense unto the Lord. . . . Corporeal incense that affects the nostrils and moves the senses is by a necessary consequence regarded as an abomination to a Being that is incorporeal."

After him St. Austin of Hippo⁵ is found stating: "We are not anxious: we do not go to Arabia to seek incense, we do not search the packs of the greedy trader: God asks for us a sacrifice of praise." And a little⁶ further on:

¹ L. Coelius Lactantius Firmianus, *Divinae institutiones*, Lib. vj: cap. xxv. And similarly in the *Epitome*, cap. j, *prope finem*.

² Eusebius Pamphilus, *De demonstratione evangelica*, Lib. IV: cap. xv: Migne, *Patr. gr.*, xxiij, 292. In cap. x: col. 93, he quotes Malachi i, 11, taking incense as meaning prayer.

³ *Præparatio evangelica*, Lib. IV: cap. x; Migne, *Patr. gr.*, xxj, 256. In cap. xij: col. 261, he quotes Appolonius to the same effect.

⁴ *Comment. in Isaiam prophetam*, cap. j, 13, 14; Migne, *Patr. gr.*, xxx, 175-178.

⁵ *Enarratio in Ps. clix*, c. 21: *Opera*, Ed. Benedict., Antwerpiae, 1700; t. iv, col. 340.

⁶ *Ibid.*

“Render unto the most High thy prayers, for in this odour is the Lord’s delight.”

Still later, during the second quarter of the fifth century, St. Maximus, bishop of Turin,¹ asks: “To what purpose should incense offered to Almighty God, by the fumes of which even images are worshipped by the Gentiles?” And St. Cyril of Alexandria² points out that material fire does not come down from the heavens upon our sacrifices, but the Holy Spirit sent from the Father through the Son: and so we do not offer up sheep, but spiritual and intellectual sacrifices. “For the Israelites used to offer to God oxen and sheep, doves and pigeons, and the first fruits and flour mixed with oil, cakes, and incense”: but we are commanded, since that coarse and rude kind of worship has been rejected by God, to offer a refined and spiritual offering. And so we present to Almighty God, as a sweet savour, every kind of virtue.

St. John Chrysostom, who, like St. Cyril of Alexandria, was certainly acquainted with some use of incense by Christians, nevertheless is at one with the rest of the early Fathers in repudiating the idea of incense as a sacrifice “The service of that which is incorporeal,” he says,³ “must needs be of the same character, and must be offered by that

¹ Maximus Taurinensis episcopus, *Homiliae Hyemales*: In Epiphania III; Migne, *Patr. lat.*, lvij, 284: “In ture autem et daemoniorum superstitio cessatura, et futurus verae religionis cultus aperitur . . . quo omnipotenti Deo tus, cuius nidore etiam simulacra a gentibus honorantur? aut quo ei myrrha fetidorum corporum condimentum, cuius carni nulla mortis erat domi natura corruptio?” He has just before pronounced gold, frankincense, and myrrh to be unworthy of God’s majesty (col. 283).

² S. Cyrillus Alexandrinus, *Contra Julianum*, Lib. X; Migne, *Patr. gr.*, lxxvj, 1032. In his commentary on Isaiah (Lib. I: oratio i) he says that they would not be accepted who should bring in fine flour to be mingled with oil and sensible incense. For we remember the word of God concerning it: It is an abomination unto me. Spiritual incense is the only acceptable incense (*Patr. gr.*, lxx, 36). *Cnf. Comment. in Malachi* (*Patr. gr.*, lxxij, 297).

³ Homilia xxxiiij in S. Johannem iv, 24; Migne, *Patr. gr.*, lix, 190.

in us which is incorporeal, to wit the soul." And again¹: "Ye must worship in truth: as former things were types, such as circumcision and whole burnt-offerings, victims and incense, they now no longer exist." In his first Homily against the Jews,² he quotes Isaiah i, 13 to the effect that incense is an abomination. "And when was it an abomination?" he asks, replying that that was before the death of Christ upon the Cross. "And if then, is it not much more so now?" Further on he remarks that "God has no nostrils, but the deity is incorporeal."

The early Fathers in commenting upon Malachi i, 11, either ignore the reference to incense altogether, like Justin Martyr,³ Irenaeus,⁴ and Tertullian⁵; or else explain it as signifying prayer. In one place Tertullian quotes Isaiah i, 10-12, just after referring to Malachi's prophecy. But the same Fathers nearly always point out the bearing of that text on the Eucharist.

Zeno, bishop of Verona, treats of three different sorts of sacrifices. First,⁶ those of the Heathen, on which he remarks what madness it is, to offer sacrifice to those who

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Homilia adversus Iudaeos* j, § vij: Migne, *Patr. gr.*, xlvij, col. 853. *Cnf.* Hom. xxvij, in Genes. viij: *Patr. gr.*, liij, 213. And on the "pure sacrifice," Hom. *adv. Iudaeos* iij; offered not by smoke and and nidor, nor by blood, but by the grace of Spirit, etc.

³ *Dialogus cum Tryphone*, cap. xlj. In capp. xxvij and cxvij he quotes Malachi j, 11, omitting all mention of incense.

⁴ *Adversus haereses*, Lib. IV: cap. xvij: § 5, ignoring the word *Incense*: in § 6 he quotes Malachi and says that "John in the Apocalypse says that incense is the prayers of the saints."

⁵ He quotes Malachi in *Adversus Marcionem*, Lib. III: cap. xxij; but reads *sacrificium* and ignores incense. Similarly, *Adversus Iudaeos*, cap. v, but follows by quoting Isaiah i, 10-12, "Incense is an abomination unto me." St. Cyprian (*Adversus Iudaeos*, cap. xvi) also quotes Malachi, but without comment. *Cnf.* St. Jerome, *Commentarium in Ps. xlv*, 15, (Migne, *Patr. lat.*, xxvj, 1068), where *cum incenso* is explained *cum acceptabili orationis odore*.

⁶ Migne, *Patr. lat.*, xj, 363.

know not that it is being offered, to bring light to the blind, to burn incense to those who do not breathe. Secondly,¹ Jewish sacrifices, on which he says it is useless to dwell, as they have entirely ceased to be. Thirdly,² Christian sacrifices : which are taken not from a little bag, but from the heart : prepared not from malodorous beasts, but gentle manners ; offered not with blood-stained hands, but with pure minds ; that is not killed that it may perish, but, as Isaac, sacrificed that it may live. Zeno may then be safely taken as a witness that incense was not used as a sacrifice in his time by Christians.

The only conclusion which we can possibly draw from this mass of evidence is that up to this time of Constantine the Great, or even later, there was no use of incense whatever in the public worship of the Church. There may have been some use of it in processions, such as those connected with funerals : but there is a striking unanimity of censure of any offering of incense as a sacrifice to Almighty God, such as was found in the non-Christian religions.

And this is just what we might expect on *a priori* grounds : for not only was the sense of the early Church rather opposed than otherwise to the following of Jewish precedents, but in so far as any suggestions were taken from Israelitish sources, it was the service of the Synagogue and not the Temple-cultus which furnished them ; and incense was not used in the Synagogue, but only in the Temple. Again, of all the sacrifices of the pagan world wherewith Christians were brought into contact and opposition, incense was by far the most prominent ; and the act of burning a pinch of incense before a statue of the Emperor was made the great test by which Christians could clear themselves of the accusation of indulging in unlawful worship.³ Refusal to commit idolatry in this manner was

¹ *Ibid.*, 364.

² *Ibid.*

³ See the next two notes. *Cnf.* Aurelius Prudentius Clemens, *Hymnus in laudem Eulaliae*, str. 6 : "Christicolasque cruenta iubet tura cremare."

equivalent to an admission of the charge of being a Christian, and to an acceptance of the consequent martyrdom. Thus in the *Acta Marcelli*, Laodicius, the Prefect, calls for a tripod that Saturninus and Sisinnius may burn incense to their majesties : and on their refusal they are martyred.¹ Those whose courage failed them at the supreme moment, and threw the pinch of incense into the fire, and so escaped death, were known as the *Turificati*, or incense-burners. To be tortured and killed, rather than take up a pinch of incense with three fingers, and throw it on to the little altar seemed very foolish to many ; no doubt it was difficult for the indifferent to understand.² But obviously such circumstances would militate most strongly against any use of incense in the public worship of the Christian Church.

With the Peace of the Church, inaugurated by

¹ *Acta SS. Boll.*, 16 January ; t. ij, 370, 375. *Cnf.* Aurelius Prudentius Clemens, *Hymnus in laudem Vincentij martyris*, str. 13 : "Hoc namque decretum cape, aut ara, ture, et cespite precanda iam nunc est tibi, aut mors luenda est sanguine."

² C. Plinius Caecilius Secundus, *Epistolae*, Lib. X : n. xcvij. Aurelius Prudentius Clemens, *Hymnus in laudem Eulaliae virginis*, strophe 25 ; "Si modicum salis eminulis Turis et exiguum digitis Tangere, virgo, benigna velis, Poena gravis procul abfuerit." L. Coelius Lactantius Firmianus, *Divinae Institutiones*, Lib. I : cap. xx : Lugduni Batav., 1652 ; p. 63 : "Colunt enim ture, ac summis digitis, quae sensibus intimis colere debuerunt" ; Lib. V : cap. xvij ; p. 349 : "Nam cruciari atque interfici malle, quam tura, tribus digitis comprehensa, in focum iactare, tam ineptum videtur quam in periculo vitae alterius animam magis curare quam suam." St. Jerome's *Epistle to Heliodorus* : "Non est in eo tantum servitus idoli si quis duobus digitis tura compressa in bustum arae iaciat" (Migne, *Patr. lat.*, xxij, 350). Caecilius Cyprianus, *Epistola lvi, ad Antonianum*, *Opera*, Antwerpiae, 1589 : p. 84, speaks of Cornelius who communicated with Trophimus, and with *Turificati*. See Baronius, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, sub anno 303 : m. lxxxix sq. on Pope Marcellinus, accused of being *turificatus*, and L. Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, Paris, 1886 ; t. i, p. 72. The judge requires St. Symphorian (at Autun, c. 180) "sertis redimire altaria," and to offer "ture odorisque incensi sacrificia digna dijs" (*Acta SS. Boll.*, 22 August ; iv, 496). Similarly in Aur. Prudentius Clemens, *Hymnus in laudem Vincentij*, str. 13 ; *Romani Martyris supplicium* str. 74.

Constantine, a new era commenced. A change came over the attitude assumed by the Church towards many pagan customs which in themselves were innocent ; but we cannot imagine that there was any sudden alteration. The compiler of *Liber Pontificalis* in the sixth century attributes to Constantine the gifts of censers and endowments for incense to burn before altars, to the churches which that emperor¹ founded in Rome : but it is impossible to believe that he was not mistaken, and that those gifts really belong to a later period. In the famous *Oration* delivered by Constantine to the *Assembly of the saints* (probably the bishops of the Council of Nicaea, 325), he said² : “Such a sacrifice of thanksgiving is offered for these persons, one unsullied by blood, and unsullied by all violence. Neither is the fragrance of incense desired as well, nor fire ; but pure light, such as suffices to enlighten those who pray.” In the complete absence of any evidence to the contrary, this speech can only mean that incense was not used in Christian worship, as part of that worship, at the time when it was delivered. We should gather the same from the rhetorical flourishes of Eusebius³ at the dedication of the church at Tyre in 312.

But the august, great, and unique altar, what can it be, other than the most pure soul and Holy of Holies of the common Priest

¹ The lists of ornaments can hardly be contemporary. In that of the Constantinian Basilica there comes after the *donum aromaticum* for altars, the font in which Constantine was baptised by St. Silvester. The covering of the font with its porphyry columns, mentioned in the Life of St. Silvester seems to be the same which was placed there by St. Sixtus (432-440), *quod ante ibi non erat*. The apse and screens at the basilica of St. Laurence are described both in Silvester's and Sixtus' Lives ; and the golden lamp in the crypt in Silvester's and Hilarus' Lives. These coincidences suggest that a faulty tradition of the sixth century ascribed ornaments given during the fifth century to Constantine ; and probably the censers of the Life of St. Silvester are to be accounted for thus. We do not hear of any more gifts of censers before Sixtus III (432-440).

² *Oratio ad sanctorum coetum*, cap. xij.

³ Eusebius Pamphilus, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Lib. X : cap. iiij : § 68.

of all. On his right hand stands the great High Priest of all, Jesus himself, the only begotten son of God ; who, with a cheerful countenance, and stretched-forth hand, receiveth from all that sweet smelling incense and those unbloody and immaterial sacrifices of prayers.

It is necessary to say a few words on some passages which have from time to time been cited as testimonies to the use of incense, but which have been with reason rejected.

In the "Apostolic Constitutions," is a rhetorical passage which runs as follows :

Let the widows and orphans be esteemed as representing the altar of burnt offering, and let the virgins be honoured as representing the altar of incense and incense itself.¹

It has been suggested that this comparison "shows evidently that it was addressed to people who were familiar with the use of incense in their worship." If so, it equally shows that they were familiar with burnt-sacrifices, which no one would seriously maintain. No ; the passage is only a figurative comparison, easily understood by people who knew their Old Testament, and has nothing to do with actual incense.

When St. Basil in the course of a rhetorical declamation asserts that

The house of prayer were thrown down by the hands of the ungodly, and the altars overturned, and there was no oblation, nor incense, nor place of offering.²

it is perfectly obvious that he is speaking figuratively, and quoting from the *Song of the Three Children* : "neither is there

¹ οἱ τε χήραι καὶ ὀρφανοὶ ἡμῶν ἐν τόπῳ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου ἀλογίσθωσαν ἵνα, αἱ τε παρθέναι ἐν τόπῳ τοῦ θυμιατηρίου τιμιμωθῶσαν καὶ τοῦ θυμιαματος (*Apost. Const.*, Lib. II : cap. xxvj).

² Κατεβύλλαντο μὲν οὖν οἱ προσευχῆς ἵππο χερσὶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀνατρίπτετο δὲ θυσιαστήριον, καὶ οὐκ ἦν προσφορά, οὐδὲ θυμιατὸν οὐ τόπος τοῦ καρπώσθαι (*Homilia in Gordium Martyrum*, 2 : Migne, *Patr. Græc.*, xxxj, 496).

any . . . oblation or incense or place to sacrifice," word for word as it is in the Septuagint.¹

When Hosius writes to Constantine in 335, and tells him that "it is therefore neither lawful for us to rule on the earth,² nor hast thou authority to burn incense," there can be no question that his language is figurative, and that he is alluding to the case of Uzziah, who in 2 Chronicles xxvj, 16 sq. is said to have intruded into the priestly office by offering incense.

Few persons at the present day would seriously bring forward the formerly often-quoted passage from pseudo-Hippolytus, which runs :

The churches lament with a great lamentation, because neither is any oblation nor incense performed, nor any worship acceptable to God.³

It is probably a distant allusion to the verse of the *Song of the Three Children* already quoted : and it is practically certain that the whole document is of the sixth century, or of the latter part of the fifth at the earliest. But it is only a figurative allusion to the Jewish rites in any case : it has no bearing on the Christian use of incense.

Another passage, frequently quoted with assurance as a testimony to the practice of censuring the altar in the fourth century, is taken from St. Ambrose's commentary on St. Luke i, 11 :

And would that an angel would stand by us also, as we heap up the altars, as we bring the sacrifice ; yea, that he would vouchsafe us to

¹ και οὐκ ἔστιν . . . οὐδὲ προσφορά οὐδὲ θυμίαμα, οὐδὲ τόπος τοῦ καρπῶσαι (*Song of the Three Children* v, 14).

² οὔτε τοίνυν ἡμῖν ἀρχειν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἔξεστιν, οὔτε σὺ τοῦ θυμῶν ἐξουσίαν ἔχεις (S. Athanasius, *Historia Arrianorum ad Monachos*, § 44 : Migne, *Patr. graec.*, xxv, 745). The context makes it quite clear. It is in the strain of "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's," etc. throughout.

³ Πενθοῦσι δὲ καὶ αἱ ἐκκλησίαι πένθος μέγα, διότι οὔτε προσφορά οὔτε θυμίαμα ἐκτελείται, οὔτε λατρεία θεάρεστος (*De consummatione mundi*, cap. xxxiv).

see him. For there is no doubt that an angel is standing by, when Christ stands by, when Christ is sacrificed.¹

The value of this testimony has been much disputed. The important phrase *nobis adolentibus altaria* is, literally, as we have rendered it above, *as we heap up the altars*: it does not and cannot mean *as we cense the altars*, for *adolere* does not mean to *cense*; but it is a common sacrificial term for heaping the sacrificial gifts upon the altar.² Consequently, the passage is most reasonably understood as referring to the offertory, when the sacred gifts were set upon the altar. It is unreasonable to see any allusion whatever to incense in the phrase.

Another passage has been cited from St. Ambrose as referring to the use of incense in some shape or form in church, and as therefore rendering some support to that interpretation of the former which we have designated above as unreasonable and inaccurate. It certainly seems to allude to the use of perfumes in church: and it must be remembered that at about the same time there is evidence of the use of incense for the purpose of perfuming the building in the churches of Antioch.

Nec verearis ne in convivio ecclesiae aut grati odores tibi aut dulces cibi aut diversi potus aut convivae nobiles desint, aut decentes ministri.

Nor mayest thou fear lest in the banquet of the church either perfumes pleasing to thee, or sweet foods, or various drinks, or excellent table companions be wanting, or honest servants.³

The passage can hardly be called conclusive evidence; it is rhetorical, figurative. Still, it may refer to some use of

¹Atque utinam nobis quoque adolentibus altaria, sacrificium deferentibus, assistat angelus, immo praebeat se videndum. Non enim dubites assistere angelum quando Christus assistit, quando Christus immolatur (*Expositio Evangelij sec. S. Luc.*, j, § 20; St. Ambrosius, *Opera*, Parisijs, 1842; t. v, p. 25).

²See Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, Oxford, 1896, s. v. 1. *adoleo*. No doubt, at a much later date, *adolere* without the addition of the word *incensum*, meant "to cense:" but not in the time of St. Ambrose. *Adolere incensum* is the common phrase for burning incense in the Vulgate.

³St. Ambrosius, *De Cain et Abel*, Lib. I: cap. v: §19; *Opera*, Parisijs, 1842; t. j, p. 356.

pleasant odours in the church, but not necessarily to incense. Paullinus of Nola¹ at about the same time makes mention of scented tapers burned in the churches, and *Liber Pontificalis*² tells of lamps in which nard and other perfumed oils were burned. It is at least as probable that the allusion is to these as to incense; but, whatever may be meant, the passage is exceedingly indefinite, and it is of little use to discuss it further.

¹ S. Paullinus Nolanus Episcopus, Poema xiv, *De S. Felice Natal. Carmen iij*, l. 100: "lumina ceratis adolentur odora papyris." Poema xxvj, *Carmen xj*, ll. 410 sq.: "Defixas exstante gerunt quae cuspide ceras, lumina ut inclusis reddantur odora papyris." So too at the baptism of King Chlodwig by St. Remigius: "balsama diffunduntur, micant flagrant odor cerei, totumque templum baptisterii divino respergitur ab odore; talem que ibi gratiam astantibus Deus tribuit, ut aestimarent se paradisi odoribus collocari" (Greg. Turon, *Hist. Franc.*, Lib. II: cap. xxxj; Migne, *Patr. lat.*, lxxj, 226).

² *E.g.* In the Life of St. Sylvester.

[To face p. 96.]



Mass for the dead in the XVth century: the minister
standing around the body.



CHAPTER II

INCENSE AT FUNERALS :

AND THE DIVINE ODOUR OF THE SAINTS

As the earliest definite instance of a Christian use of burning incense is in a funeral procession, that of St. Peter of Alexandria in 311, it is convenient to begin our consideration of the development of the Church's ceremonial use of incense, by seeing what was done in Christian funerals, and to what extent this source contributed to the fully organised use of the middle ages.

The funerals of both Greeks and Romans in their pagan days were characterised by every sign of grief and utter hopelessness. With death all was for them practically at an end; the future held no inviting prospect. Very different was the teaching of the Church. For the Christian, death had lost its sting; to die was to enter on a newer, better and happier life. Hence it was that, so soon as possible, Christians gave a joyful and triumphant character to their last rites, making the strongest possible contrast between them and those of the heathen around them. When they could, they held them by day instead of by night. Olive-branches and palms were substituted for the mournful cypress as being the symbols of victory; joyous hymns, and cries of *Alleluia*, supplanted the sad strains of *naenia*. The black garments of heathen mourning were repudiated as being unfitting when the departed one had put on the white robes of the future world.¹

¹ Caelius Cyprianus, *De mortalitate*, §15 : *Opera*, Oxonij, 1682 ; pp. 163-4 : "desiderari eos debere, non plangi : nec accipiendas esse hic atras vestes quando illi ibi indumenta alba iam sumserint." Pseudo-augustinus (perhaps St. John Chrysostom) *Sermo* II, *de consolatione mortuorum*, cap. v ; in St. Augustine, *Opera*, Ed. Benedict. Antwerpiac, 1701 ; t. v), 744 : "Postremo etiam qua ratione vestes nigras

But the torches and lights were retained; and often censers smoking with incense were carried too. It was a copy of a triumphal procession; one held to celebrate a victory and not a defeat. The body of the dear one took the place of the triumphing general. Psalms and hymns and the chant of *Alleluia* were heard instead of the shouts of *Io triumphe!* and the songs of the soldiery. The lights, the incense, the branches of palm and olive were the same. "Tell me," says St. John Chrysostom,¹ "what mean the bright torches? Do we not attend the dead as champions? And what mean the hymns? Do we not glorify God that he has at last crowned the departed one?" And in another place he tells us² that the monks called the funeral procession a *προπομπή*, and not an *ἐκφορά*; a solemn escorting, and not a mere carrying forth as the heathen termed it.

To come to records of actual cases. In the *Acta proconsularia* of St. Cyprian's martyrdom³ it is related that his body was carried by night to its place of burial, candles and torches accompanying, with devotion and great triumph. Of St. Peter, the martyr-bishop of Alexandria,⁴ we are told that his body was embalmed with fragrant

tinguimus, nisi ut nos vere infideles et miseros non tantum fletibus sed etiam vestibis approbamus? Aliena sunt ista, fratres, extranea sunt, non licent, et si licerent, non decerent."

¹ Hom. IV in Hebr. ij, 5-7, §7; Migne, *Patr. gr.*, lxij, 39. *Cnf.* Hom. xxij, §7, in 2 Cor. xj, 12; Migne, *Patr. gr.*, lxi, 566; *ποῦ δὲ αἱ λαμπάδας*; *Cnf.* also his homily *De SS. Berenice et Prosdoce*, §3; Migne, *Patr. graec.*, i, 633-4.

² Hom. XIV in 1 Tim. v, 8; Migne, *Patr. gr.*, lxij, 573. *Cnf.* *Constit. Apostol.*, Lib. VI: cap. xxx: *καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐξόδοις τῶν κεκοιμένων ψάλλοντες προπέμπετε αὐτοὺς, ἔαν ὧσι πιστοὶ ἐν κυρίῳ.*

³ Th. Ruinart, *Acta Martyrum*, Ratisbon, 1859; p. 263: "cum cereis et scholacibus, cum voto et triumpho magno."

⁴ Migne, *Patr. gr.*, xvij, 465: "Tum victricia signa palmas gerentes flammantibus cereis, concrepantibus hymnis, flagrantibusque thymiamatibus caelestis victoriae triumpham celebrantes, deposuerunt sanctas reliquias et sepelierunt eas in coemeterio." These *acta* are a translation from the lost Greek by Anastasius the Librarian. *Cnf.* Baronius, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, sub anno 310, n.x.

[To face p. 99].



A Fifteenth Century Flemish Funeral Procession with lighted torches.

[By permission of Mr. Henry Frowde]

spices; and then the faithful bearing in their hands palm-branches, the signs of victory, and chanting hymns, accompanied by flaming candles and smoking censers, celebrated the triumph of his heavenly victory; and so they brought the earthly remains of the saint to the cemetery where they buried him.

The *Acta* of St. Luxorius,¹ who was martyred under Diocletian in Sardinia, mention the hymns and the lights that accompanied his body to the tomb, and the sweet spices which were used to embalm his remains.

St. Gregory of Nyssa² tells of the great crowd of people who followed his sister, St. Macrina, to her grave in procession, all holding lighted tapers in their hands. The stately pomp, the nocturnal chantings, the light of the torches, wherewith it was thought fit to adorn the faithful Christian's departure from this world, are referred to by St. Gregory of Nazianzum.³ At St. Paula's funeral⁴ there was no wailing nor grieving as was the custom amongst heathen folk, says St. Jerome, but the chant of psalms in many languages; bishops bore her bier on their shoulders, and others carried torches and tapers before it; all Palestine was represented at her funeral. At Fabiola's obsequies⁵ "the whole population of the city was gathered together," the same writer relates; "Psalms were sung, and *Alleluia* shook the golden roofs of the temples and re-echoed from on high."

In his homily on St. Pelagia of Antioch, St. John

¹ *Acta SS.*, Boll., 21 August; iv. 417: "Eum cum hymnis et diversis luminaribus, conditum suavibus odoramentis."

² Migne, *Patr. græca*, xlvj, 993: τὰς ἐκ κηροῦ λαμπάδας ἔχοντες πάντες.

³ Greg. Nazianz., *Oratio II adversus Iulianum* (al. V), §16: Migne, *Patr. gr.*, xxxv. 683.

⁴ *Acta SS.*, Boll., 26 January; iij, 336: "alii pontifices lampades cereosque praeferrent."

⁵ *F. f. lola* 77, ad Octavium, §xj; Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, xxij, 697: "To in urbis populum ad exsequias congregabat. Sonabant psalmi, et aurata templorum tecta reboans in sublime quatiebat *Alleluia*."

Chrysostom¹ alludes to the use of incense in the funeral procession. "Let us fill the highway with incense," he says: "for the road will not appear so decorous although some one set censers all along the way to perfume the air with a sweet odour, as it will appear now, if those who pass along it, relating amongst themselves the contests of the martyrs, return home, each making his tongue a censer"; that is, by perfuming the air with good words and pious thoughts. In another homily,² speaking of what happens after the funeral of a wealthy man, he says: "Whither is that vast crowd gone? what has become of that clamour and uproar? where are the torches?"

The following passage from the Testament of St. Ephraim³ (θ c. 370), whether it be genuine or not (and it probably is an interpolation of later date), marks a change of religious thought, and the beginnings of an idea which gradually increased until it almost overthrew the primitive fathers' teaching on the subject, as witnessed in the catena of passages which we have given above. The idea that incense could be offered to Almighty God, and that He should be pleased by it, was emphatically repudiated by them: but gradually the pre-Christian theory overcame it, and was accepted by the majority of persons in the Church, as well in the West as in the East. This document belongs to the period when this change was in process, whenever that was: for the present, however, we will merely note its bearing on the funerary use of incense, and defer the consideration of the other aspect till later.

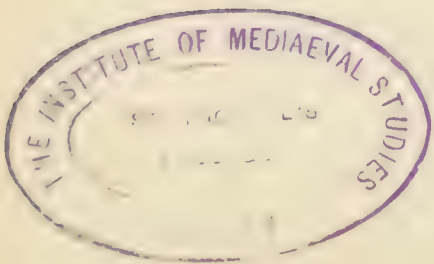
The passage in question is this:

Bay me not up with sweet spices: for this honour avails me not.
Nor with incense and perfume: for the honour befits me not.
Burn sweet spices in the Holy Place: and me, even me, conduct to the grave with prayers.

¹ θυμιαμάτων ἐμπλήσωμεν τὴν λεωφόρον· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὕτως σεμνὴ φανείται ἡ ὁδὸς, εἰ διὰ πάσης αὐτῆς θυμιατήριά τις τιθεῖς τῆς εὐωδίας ἀναχώρει τον ἀέρα, ὡς σεμνὴ φανείται νῦν εἰ πάντες οἱ τήμερον αὐτὴν ὁδεύοντες τοῖς ἄλλοις τῆς μάρτυρος πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς διηγοῦμενοι, βαδίζουσιν εἰκαδὲ, θυμιαματήριον τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γλῶτταν ἕκαστος ποιῶν (Hom. xlj, *de S. Pelagia*; Migne, *Patr. gr.*, l, 583).

² Hom. XXIII, §7; in 2 Corinth. xj, 12; Migne, *Patr. gr.*, lxj, 560.

³ *Nicene and Post-nicene Fathers*, 1899; xvij, 135.



Give ye incense to God : and over me send up hymns.
 Instead of perfumes of spices : in prayer make remembrance of me.
 What can goodly odour profit : to the dead who cannot perceive it ?
 Bring them in and burn them in the Holy Place : that they which
 enter in may smell the savour

St. Hilary of Arles,¹ preaching on St. Honoratus (θ 430), mentions the perfumes and incense borne before his bier, but says nothing of any torches or candles. But the body of St. Simon Stylites (θ c. 460), was received by the people of Antioch, carrying torches and palm branches in their hands, and singing psalms, hymns and canticles.² Pelagia, the saintly penitent, lived as a man in her latter days : and her sex was not discovered until the monks were preparing her body for burial, and anointing it with myrrh. This discovery was hailed by the populace as a miracle : and a great concourse of people, monks, and nuns escorted her remains to the grave, carrying tapers and torches, and chanting hymns.³ Crosses and lights, singing of hymns, canticles and psalms figure in the funerals of St. Marina,⁴ a virgin who lived as a monk, and was accused of having seduced an innkeeper's daughter : after many years' penance she died, and the truth became known in the same way as in Pelagia's case. Lights and singing of psalms accompanied St. Euthymius⁵ to his grave : but in all these Eastern instances there is no mention of incense. However, at the obsequies of Justinian (θ 565), as Corippus tells us, funeral tapers were kindled,⁶ and Sabaeen incense and other

¹ *Sermo de vita sancti Honorati*, cap. vij : §35 : "Praelata tunc ante feretrum ipsius aromata et incensum vidimus" (Migne, *Patr. lat.*, I, 1269).

² *Acta SS.*, *Boll.*, 5 January ; i, 274.

³ Migne, *Patr. lat.*, lxxij, 670 : "cum cereis, lampadis et hymnis."

⁴ *Ibid.*, 694 : "accipientes cruces et cereos, cum hymnis et canticis et psalmis."

⁵ J. B. Coteler, *Eccles. Græcæ Mon.*, Paris, 1686 : ij, 296 : "καπνίζοντες λαμπάς."

⁶ Antecum, pater alme, vale, non plura moratus

Augustus nutu tolli sublime feretrum

Imperat, et tota populus processit ab aula :

Maestaque funereas accendunt agmina ceras.

Fl. Cresconius Corippus Africanus. *In laudem Iustini Augusti Minoris*, Lib III, ll. 36 seq.

perfumes were used in abundance: and the emperor's body was embalmed with ointments and spices.¹ At the funerals of Queen Radegund († 590) tapers were carried by young maidens, and others: and we get a glimpse of a custom of casting the tapers into the tomb after the funeral service, about which some contention arose.² There is no mention of incense in any of the accounts that have come down to us: but Gregory of Tours, who was present, states that her body was set in a wooden case and wrapped in spices.³

The translation of a saint's body to a more worthy resting-place was conducted on the same lines as the original funeral procession.

Gregory of Tours gives an account of the translation of St. Martin († c. 397) and his sarcophagus, sixty-four years after the saint's death, in which he mentions that its miraculous removal to its new situation was accompanied by the singing of an anthem, and that crosses and tapers were carried.⁴ Some twenty years later, the body of St. Lupicinus was translated to a fresh place (from Lipidiaco to Transaulx [?]): both places are unknown): bands of singers took part in the procession, with crosses and candles, and the odour of fragrant incense.⁵ But in the account St.

¹ Tura sabaea cremant, fragrantia mella locatis
Infundant pateris, et odoro balsama succo.
Centum aliae species, unguentaque mira feruntur,
Tempus in aeternum sacrum servantia corpus.
Supremum Patri talem celebravit honorem
Augusto melior Iustinus Caesare Princeps.

Fl. Cresconius Corippus Africanus, *In laudem Iustini Augusti Minoris*, Lib. III, ll. 22 sq. "Transitus ob causam multi pia tura cremabant" (*Ibid.*, l. 55).

² *Acta SS., Boll.*, 13 August, 82.

³ *Liber de gloria confessorum*, cap. cvj; Migne, *Patr. lat.*, lxxj, 906.

⁴ *De miraculis S. Martini*, Lib. I: cap. vj; Migne, *Patr. lat.*, lxxj, 920.

⁵ S. Gregory of Tours, *Vitae Patrum*, cap. xij; Migne, *Patr. lat.*, lxxj, 1067: "dispositis in itinere psallentium turmis cum crucibus cereisque, atque odore fragrantis thymiamatis."

[To face p. 103.]



Wall-painting found in the lower church of St. Clement, Rome ; of the XIth century (?).

Gregory of Tours has left of his translation of the relics of the martyrs, Saturninus and Julian, to the new oratory which he had built,¹ only glistening tapers and crosses are spoken of. When St. Leger's body (θ 653) was being carried to its final resting-place in 656, numbers of persons from all parts gathered together to welcome and honour it,² and crowds of monks and clergymen went before it with crosses, lighted tapers, and sweet odours : and finally it was met by bishop Ansoaldus (of Poitiers) who had with him a multitude of clergymen, and numbers of the populace, with censers and the fragrance of incense, with crosses and lighted tapers, accompanied by many bands of singers ; and so was he brought to the city.³

A number of bishops and clergymen, with crowds of the people, is said to have taken part in the translation of the body of St. Ewen (c. 683) to the city of Rouen : crosses, torches, and censers were carried, and hymns and praises were sung to God.⁴ Similarly St. Hubert of Liège (θ 731) was translated with great honour by Karlomann and his Court, to the sound of chaunting, and the accompaniment of crosses, candles, and abundance of incense.⁵ About 870 the relics of St. Severinus were translated to Naples ; and, as they went along, 'banners of the Lord's Cross', sweet smelling incense, and lights, were carried in the procession, and choirs of Latins and Greeks sang to-

¹ *Liber de gloria confessorum*, cap. xx ; Migne, *Patr. lat.*, lxxj, 842 : "radiantibus cereis crucibusque."

² "Ergo cum iter iam pergerent, divulgatum est per itineris loca, coeperuntque undique sponte dextra laevaue concurrere ex monasteriis, viculis, ac villis, turbae monachorum ac clericorum per publicum cum crucibus accensisque cereis et suavitatum odoribus obviam procedentes" (Migne, *Patr. lat.*, xxvj, 569).

³ "Cum turibulis ac incensi fragrantia, cum crucibus et cereis accensis, agminibus multis canentibus" (*Ibid.*, 571).

⁴ *Acta SS., Boll.*, 24 August ; iv, 818 : "Cum crucibus et lampadibus necnon thymiamatibus."

⁵ *Acta SS., Boll.*, 3 November ; j, 805 : "Cum magno honore, cum crucibus et candelabris et turibus plurimis."

gether.¹ So, too, in the account of the translation of St. Remaclus († 691), Bishop of Utrecht, in the latter part of the tenth century, we are told of the abundance of lighted tapers, and the fragrant odour of the incense borne in the procession.² And to quote a still later instance, in 1122 the arm of St. Matthew the Apostle was brought to Monte Cassino, and accompanied by lighted torches, and incense.³ From this time onward, the use of lights and incense in processions of almost every sort was well established.

The descriptions of funeral ceremonies quoted above show us that customs varied in different places, and at different times. Yet they witness to a common underlying ground idea, that the funeral of a faithful Christian was a triumphal procession consequent on a victory; but also they make it clear that the expression of this idea was not determined by any fixed rule, until late in the history of the Church.

We have seen that Tertullian, whilst repudiating the use of incense in Christian worship, affirmed that in burying Christians, more of the Sabaeans' merchandise (and that the more valuable, too), was employed, than in the worship of the pagan deities; so that the traders of Arabia had no cause for complaint against Christianity.⁴ And in another place⁵ he says that frankincense and the other foreign products which were used in sacrifice to idols, and also for medicinal purposes, "by us, too, are employed *ad solatia sepulturae* as well." From these passages some have argued

¹ *Acta SS., Boll.*, 8 January; j, 736: "Cum Dominicae crucis vexillis odoriferisque incensis . . . et luminaribus."

² *Acta SS., Boll.*, 3 September; j, 750: "Cereorum luminaribus quam plurimis et tus redolentis suavitate odoris."

³ *Chronicon Casinense*, cap. 73, *ap.* L. A. Muratori; *Rerum italicarum scriptores*, Mediolani, 1723; t. iv, p. 542: "Cum lampadibus et thymiamatibus."

⁴ *Apologia*, xlij.

⁵ *De idolatria*, xj. *Cnf. De resurrectione carnis*, cap. xxvij. *Cnf.* the prescription of Q. Serenus Samonicus for Elephantiasis, *De Medicina Liber*, cap. xj, last line but one; cap. xij. last line; cap. xv, l. 26. A. Cornelius Celsus, *Medicinae Libri*, Lib. III: cap. xxvij: § 1; and *passim*.

that incense was burned at Christian funerals as early as the days of Tertullian. But such is not their real meaning.

The *Octavius* of Minucius Felix, written at about the same period as Tertullian, lets us know that Christians reserved the use of scented unguents for funerals,¹ and did not hang garlands upon their tombs in the pagan way. Similarly, St. Clement of Alexandria,² in the course of a denunciation of luxurious habits, asserts that "excessive anointings with unguents savour more of what is done to corpses than of the ordinary customs of life." Later on, at the end of the fourth century Prudentius³ mentions the practice of wrapping the corpse in white linen and preserving it by the application of myrrh; while over the grave were scattered violets and leaves, and on the stone was poured a "liquid odour." St. Paullinus of Nola⁴ also in describing the funeral of St. Felix alludes to the nard and unguents which were poured over his tomb.

This use of myrrh and other aromatics was continued by the early Christians from the Jewish practice, exemplified, for instance, in our Lord's case; whose body before being laid in the tomb was wrapped in linen cloths with the spices myrrh and aloes. Ointments made of like materials, were used too, for the same purpose; and these customs lasted for many centuries. We have frequent allusions to them in early Christian documents and writers. Thus, in the *Acta*

¹ M. Minucius Felix, *Octavius*, cap. xij: "Non floribus caput nectitis, non corpus odoribus honestatis; reservatis unguenta funeribus: coronas etiam sepulcris denegatis": and in cap. xxxviii he admits the charges.

² *Paedagogus*, Lib. II: cap. viii.

³ Aurelius Prudentius Clemens, *Hymnus in exsequiis defunctorum*, str. 13: "Candore nitentia claro Praetendere lintea mos est, Aspersione myrrha sabaeco Corpus medicamine servat." The last strophe mentions the violets, *frons frequens* and *liquidus odor*.

⁴ Poema XIV: *de S. Felice Natal. Carmen vi*, ll. 96 sq: "Namque tuo meritum in gremio sacratus honorem, ducit odorifero pia conditus ova sepulcro." *Conf.* Poema XXIV: *de S. Felice Natal. Carmen ix*, ll. 57 sq: "nec tantae conscia culpa simplicitas pietate cadit, male credula sanctos perfusus halante mero gaudere sepulcris." Evidently the perfume poured over the tomb was regarded by some as a sacrifice to the saint, with which he was pleased.

proconsularia of SS. Tharacus, Probus, and Andronicus,¹ who were martyred in 290 at Tarsus in Cilicia, the magistrate replies to Tharacus' disdainful "Do what you are going to do, quickly!" with: "Do you think, you villain, that some wretched woman is going to have your dead body to bury it with spices or ointments? then, let me tell you, I will utterly destroy your remains." St. Juliana was martyred in Africa, at Nicomedia, in the same year; and her body was taken care of by Saphronia, a lady of senatorial rank, wrapped in spices and precious linen. Saphronia intended to carry the relics to Rome, and there to give them honourable burial: but perverse winds drove her to Cumae.²

In the life of St. Epictetus,³ an oriental priest who lived in the time of Diocletian, it is related that he assisted in disposing of the bodies of the holy martyrs: pouring over them myrrh and very precious aromatics, and burying them in a convenient and suitable spot, with hymns and psalms, and with great devotion. In the work known as *The Contendings of the Apostles*,⁴ a Syriac document of early date, we are told that Marcellus embalmed the body of St. Peter; washing it in milk and wine, anointing it with myrrh, spices, and aloes, and putting it in a coffin which he filled with honey.

We read of these or similar usages in the *Acta* of St. Euplus⁵ and in those of numerous other martyrs,⁶ which it

¹ Baronius, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, ad Annum 290: n. xxi: Lucae, 1738; t. iij, p. 259.

² *Acta SS.*, *Boll.*, 16 February; ij, 878.

³ Migne, *Patr. lat.*, lxxij, 407: "Perfundens ea myrrha et aromatibus pretiosissimis."

⁴ E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Contendings of the Apostles*, London, 1901; vol. ij, pp. 40-41.

⁵ Th. Ruinart, *Acta martyrum*, Ratisbonae, 1859; p. 438: "conditum aromatibus." St. Euplus was martyred in 304: he was a deacon.

⁶ E.g. Ignatius Ephraem Rahmani, *Acta SS. Conf. Guriæ et Shamonaë*, Romae, 1889; p. 17. They were martyred under Diocletian at Edessa; and wrapped in myrrh, incense and other spices with linen. *Cnf.* St. John Chrysostom, Hom. II in 1 Tim. j; Migne, *Patr. gr.*, lxij, 513.

is hardly necessary to quote, as they simply repeat the same story over and over again.

But, as we might gather from Tertullian's words quoted above, martyrs were not the only Christians who were thus embalmed. Prudentius¹ mentions, in his hymn on the Exequies of the Dead, that the corpse was anointed with myrrh and preserved by a Sabaean drug. Large quantities of spices seem to have been used in embalming the bishops of Ravenna. When Agnellus, in the ninth century, opened the tomb of St. Peter, the seventeenth bishop of that city (θ c. 425), so powerful an odour of incense, myrrh, and balsam was exhaled that it lasted a whole week.² St. Austin of Hippo³ alludes to the unguents and aromatic spices used in burying the wealthy folk of his days. Queen Radegunde, of Poitiers (θ 587), was buried in a coffin filled with spices.⁴ Sixtus III (432-440), with his own hands, wrapped the body of his enemy, Bassus, in spices and fine linen.⁵

In 813 died the emperor Karl the Great. His body was embalmed, and they filled his tomb with aromatics and spices, with balsam and musk, and with much treasure in gold⁶ so it is said.

There is no need to go on multiplying instances of things of this sort; suffice it to say that the custom dates back

¹ Aurelius Prudentius Clemens, *Hymnus in exsequiis defunctorum*, str. 13: "Aspersaque myrrha sabaeo Corpus medicamine servat."

² *Liber Pontificalis* ap. L. A. Muratori, *Rerum italicarum scriptores*, Mediolani, 1723; t. ij, p. 57. *Cnf.* p. 43.

³ *In Ps. cxxij enarratio*: sermo i, ad v. 11, § 13: "Sed pompa est funeris, excipitur sepulcro pretioso, involvitur pretiosis vestibus, sepelitur unguentis et aromatis."

⁴ St. Gregory of Tours, *Liber de gloria confessorum*, cap. cvj; Migne, *Patr. lat.* lxxj, 956.

⁵ *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. L. Duchesne, Paris, 1886: t. j, p. 232: "Cuius corpus Sixtus episcopus cum lintheaminibus et aromatibus manibus suis tractans, recondens que sepelivit ad beatum Petrum apostolum in cubiculo parentum eius."

⁶ Martin Bouquet, *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, Paris, 1744, t. v, p. 166.

to the earliest period of Christianity, and that it lasted long, and was extremely widespread. Its prevalence, no doubt, accounts for the divine odour so frequently reported by later writers to have been perceived on opening the tombs of early Christians. This fragranciness, for example, is noted as emanating from the body of St. Geminian, bishop of Modena,¹ when it was translated in 1106, to the accompaniment of tapers and torches, books of the gospels and crosses, &c; and in numerous other instances of the same kind.

But this is not sufficient to account for all cases. We may get a clue from such instances as that of St. Maurilius, for example; where it is recorded that the powerful and fragrant odour, that exhaled from his open tomb, healed the sick.² It is a divine aroma, imbued on the favoured children of God, whose merits were sufficiently great. Anthony, in his life of his master, St. Simon Stylites, relates that the saint's dead body exhaled a fragrant odour.³ In the collections of short lives of the saints, compiled by St. Gregory of Tours, there are many similar instances. When the tomb of Valerius, first bishop of Saint Lizier de Conserans,⁴ was opened, so powerful an odour of sweetness arose from it "that one could not doubt that there lay there a friend of God." Once, when the aid of St. Martin of Tours was implored with great fervour by those on board a ship, during a terrific storm, there suddenly spread over the whole ship a most fragrant scent like that of balsam, just as if some one gone about with a censer. With the arrival of this perfume the violence of the waves

¹ L. A. Muratori, *Reverum italicarum scriptores*, Mediolani, 1725; t. vj, p. 90. *Cnf.* Paulinus, *Vita S. Ambrosij*, §32; Migne, *Patr. lat.*, xiv, 38: "Etiam odore tanto repleti sumus ut omnium aromatum vincerat suavitatem." Inventio S. Marcianae, ap. *Acta SS.*, *Boll.*, 6 March; j, 421. St. Isidore of Seville, *Acta SS. Bolland.*, 4 April; j, 347. It is, in fact, extremely common.

² *Acta SS.*, *Boll.*, 13 September; iv, 77.

³ *Acta SS.*, *Boll.*, 5 January; j, 268.

⁴ St. Gregory of Tours, *Liber de gloria Confessorum*, cap. lxxxiv.

ceased, and soon the sea became calm.¹ The perfume was the outward sign of St. Martin's presence and intervention.

A paralytic is brought to the tomb of St. Albin of Angers († 550), and during the chanting of the psalms at Terce, SS. Martin and Albin, having come to attend the feast of the former, are manifested by a sweet odour in the church, and at once the sick man stands erect, cured.²

The body of St. Mallosus was recognised when found by the perfume arising from it. It was revealed in a dream to a certain deacon of Metz where the saint's body was buried: who, after digging down about seven feet, perceived the scent of a powerful aroma, and on digging further, came on the body, unharmed. It was immediately taken up, to the chant of *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, and carried into the cathedral.³ When Hericus and his companions visited the relics of St. Germain of Auxerre († 448) about fifty years after the saint's death, escorted by the holy bishop Avitus, who had been fasting till late (it was about the tenth hour), their nostrils were greeted with the odour of lilies and roses, which they unhesitatingly attributed to the merits of blessed Germain, for it was the ninth month (November).⁴

Sometimes this fragrant perfume is attributed to angelic influence: as in the *Acta* of St. Gunifort, where, after his departure from this life, angels come down and stand around his corpse, illuminating the whole house, and filling it with a most fragrant odour.⁵ And when St. Friard died, his cell was immediately filled with divine odours due to the presence of angelic power.⁶ In the year 631, so the *Annals of Ghent*

¹ St. Gregory of Tours, *De miraculis S. Martini*, Lib. I: cap. ix.

² *Ibid.*, *Liber de gloria Confessorum*, cap. xcvi.

³ St. Gregory of Tours, *Libri Miraculorum*, I (*de gloria b. martyrum*): cap. lxij: Migne, *Patr. lat.*, lxxj. 762.

⁴ *Acta SS.*, Bolland., 31 July; vij, 275 (cap. iv: § xxix).

⁵ *Acta Sanctorum*, Bolland., 22 August; iv, 539. Compare Anastasius Sinaitica, from a lost oration, quoted by Cotelier, *Mon. eccles. graec.*, iij, 598 note: ἡ παρουσία τῶν ἁγίων ἀγγέλων καὶ παρρησιαὶ ἐθαύματα.

⁶ St. Gregory of Tours, *Vitae Patrum*, cap. x: Migne, *Patr. lat.*, lxxj, 1258.

tell us, St. Bavo was drawing near to the end of his life, and an angel of the Lord visited him in the likeness of a dove, filling his whole cell with an odour of wondrous fragrance.¹

With this we may compare the sweet and unearthly perfume with which the *Doctrine of the Twelve Apostles* affirms to have accompanied the outpouring of the Holy Ghost at Pentecost.² An analogous episode occurs in the life of St. Kentigern: once, when the saint was saying mass, a sweet-smelling cloud filled the church, which healed many of disease.³ Nor should the statement in the Epistle of the Church of Smyrna concerning the martyrdom of St. Polycarp be forgotten.⁴ As he was being burned, to quote John Milton's translation, "The fire did but reflect a golden light upon his unviolated limbs, exhaling such a sweet odour as if all the incense of Arabia had been burning."

A curious story is told about the relics of St. Eulalia, who was martyred in 304. Before the altar at Merida which covered her body were three trees: and on the 10th of December, on which day her passion was commemorated, these trees till then bare of foliage, put forth sweet flowers. If the trees flowered freely the people knew that the following year would be free from troubles, or full of fruit. But if the flowers appeared more tardily than usual, then they knew that evil times were in store for them: and at once endeavoured to avert the calamity by appealing to the holy martyr. Then if she were appeased by the lamentation of the people, at once the flowers came forth from the trees, which breathed forth the odour of nectar, gladdening the sorrow of the people by their coming, and refreshing them with their sweetness. The flowers were gathered with care,

¹ G. H. Pertz, *Monumenta Germaniæ Historica*, Hannovercae, 1842; t. ij, p. 186.

² Ante-Nicene Christian Library, 1871; vol. xx, p. 37.

³ W. M. Metcalf, *Ancient Lives of Scottish Saints*, Paisley, 1895; p. 210. Was this begotten of an unwonted use of incense?

⁴ Gul. Jacobson, *Patrum apostolicorum*, Oxonij, 1863; t. ij, pp. 642-3, and note 8.

and carried in joyful procession into the basilica, where they were offered to the priest; and Gregory of Tours adds that he knows that they were very often of benefit to the sick.¹

There is most probably here a conflation of the cult of St. Eulalia, and of some pre-Christian tree-worship. But a somewhat similar story is told of St. Julian. A deacon named Urban went one night to his tomb, and on entering the basilica, perceived a wonderful perfume, which arose from a mass of roses lying within the rails around the sepulchre, and they were all fresh as if just plucked, although it was November. The roses were collected, and used to heal the sick.²

Devils, on the other hand, were recognised by the foul stench which they left behind them. When the Devil appeared to St. Martin of Tours, and announced that he was Christ, the saint declined to believe that the person in royal vesture, shod in gold and crowned with brilliant gems, was our Lord. "I will not believe that Christ has come to me," he said, "unless He should appear to me in the dress and form in which He suffered, unless He should bear the stigmata of the Cross:" whereupon the Devil vanished like smoke, and filled the whole cell with such a terrible stench, that there was no doubt that a devil had been there.³ Sulpicius Severus states that he had this incident from the lips of Martin himself, lest perchance anyone should think the story fabulous.

The Devil played the same fraudulent trick on Abbot Pachomius, and meeting with a hostile reception in the shape of an exorcism, became like dust, and filled the holy man's cell with a most foul stink.⁴

¹ Gregory of Tours, *De gloria martyrum*, Lib. I: cap. xcj; Migne, *Patr. lat.*, lxxi, 785.

² *Ibid.*, Lib. II: cap. xlvj; Migne, 826.

³ Sulpicius Severus, *Liber de vita beati Martini*, cap. xxv, (*Opera Omnia*, Lugduni Batavorum, 1654; p. 519).

⁴ Migne, *Patr. lat.*, lxxij, 267.

There is no need to quote any further evidence of the belief in the disagreeable odour¹ of evil spirits : but a few instances of the perfume pervading the abodes of the blessed and the damned respectively may be not out of place. The Venerable Bede² has put on record the visions of a master of a family in the district of the Northumbrians which is called Cunningham, at the close of the seventh century. He dreamed that a spirit-guide took him down to Hell, where amongst other sights, he "observed that the flames as they went up were full of human souls, which were sometimes thrown up high like sparks flying up with the smoke : and again, when the vapour of the fire ceased, dropped down into the pit beneath. Moreover, there came forth with those vapours an insupportable stink, which filled all those dark places." Later on, he was led to Paradise, "a vast field and a delightful, so full of fragrant flowers that the perfume of its pleasant sweetness at once quelled the stink of the dark furnace, which had pierced me through." Finally, he approached the kingdom of Heaven, but did not enter therein. "So wonderful a fragrancy came from it that the other, which before I had thought most delightful, then seemed to me but very indifferent."

So in the Vision of Alberic, a monk of Monte Casino, the mouth of the infernal pit is represented as a vast gulf, dark, and emitting a horrible stench, and full of screaming and howling : while the habitations of the blessed are in a

¹The only instance to the contrary that I have come across is in the "Story of Ibrâhîm of Mauşul and the Devil." Abû Ishâk Ibrâhîm el Mauşili was once sitting in his chamber, with his women about him, when he "was ware of an old man of comely and reverend aspect, clad in white clothes and a shirt of fine stuff, with a doctor's hood on his head and a silver handled staff in his hand, and the house and porch were full of the sweet smell of the essences with which he was scented." This reverend doctor, after entertaining the company with his singing, disappears, and announces himself as Abû Murrah, the Father of Bitterness, otherwise the Devil (*The Book of the Thousand Nights and One Night*, translated by John Payne for the Villon Society, 1883 ; vol. vj, p. 205).

²Ven. Baeda, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Lib. V : cap. xi.

beautiful plain covered with flowers.¹ The stench of Hell figures likewise in the Vision of Walkelin,² as recorded by Odericus Vitalis.

In the Anglo-Saxon poem on the delights of Paradise, the fragrantcy of the region is specially noted :

Beauteous is all the plain
with delights blessed,
with the sweetest
of earth's odours.

there a holy fragrance
rests o'er the pleasant land.³

This however is a paraphrase or adaptation of the *Carmen de Phoenice* of the pseudo-Lactantius.⁴

Colligit hinc succos, et odores divite silva ;
Quos legit Assyrius, quos opulentus Arabs ;
Quos aut Pygmeae gentes aut India carpit ;
Aut molli generat terra sabaea sinu.
Cinnama dehinc, auramque procul spirantis amomi
Congerit, et misto balsama cum folio.
Non casiae mitis, nec olentis vimen acanthi,
Nec turis lacrimae guttaque pinguis abest,
His addit teneras nardi pubentis aristas
Et sociat myrrhae pascua grata nimis.

These ideas can be traced back to the Avesta. We read there that at the end of the third night after death,⁵ the faithful soul perceives a wind from the south, "a sweet-scented wind, sweeter scented than any other wind in the

¹ Thomas Wright, *St. Patrick's Purgatory*, London, 1844 : pp. 186 sq. *Conf.* the great cold lake, seen by Owayne, where "the water stonke fowle therto and dede the soles mykyll woo" (*Ibid.*, 74).

² Odericus Vitalis, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Lib. VIII: cap. xvij.

³ Translated by B. Thorpe and quoted by Longfellow at the end of his notes on Dante's *Inferno* (H. W. Longfellow, *The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri*, London, 1891 ; p. 245).

⁴ *Conf.* also the place of bliss described in the Book of Enoch, full of fragrant odours, and trees that give forth the fragrance of frankincense and myrrh (Edit. R. H. Charles, Oxford, 1893 ; pp. 101-3).

⁵ James Darmesteter, *The Zend Avesta*, Yasht xxij: i: 7, 8 ; Sacred Books of the East, Oxford, 1883 : vol. xxij, pp. 315 sq.

world. He thinks: Whence does that wind blow, the sweetest scented wind that I ever inhaled with my nostrils." It comes from the realms of Ahura-Mazda. The wicked soul,¹ on the other hand at the end of the third night perceives a foul stench, "the foulest-scented wind that I ever inhaled with my nostrils," which comes from the north, the abode of the evil one.

After this digression we may pass on to the censuring at medieval funerals. According to the earlier use of Sarum the corpse was never censured during *Placebo* or *Dirige*, whatever the rank or position to the deceased might have been.² At the mass of *Requiem eternam*, whenever the body was present, and at the anniversaries of bishops and deans, the deacon censured the body (or the tomb), after the celebrant had censured the altar at the office; beginning at the head, and then on either side. He did the same after that he had censured the altar before the gospel, while the tract was in singing; and again for the third time, after the censuring at the Offertory³. In the course of the Burial Service which followed, the body was censured on three occasions by the priest: first during the singing of the respond *Qui Lazarum resuscitasti*, then during the respond *Heu mihi Domine*, and thirdly during the respond *Libera me Domine*.⁴ On reaching the grave, the priest blessed it, sprinkled it with holy water, and censured it: this was again done after the absolution, and again after he had scattered earth on the coffin.⁵

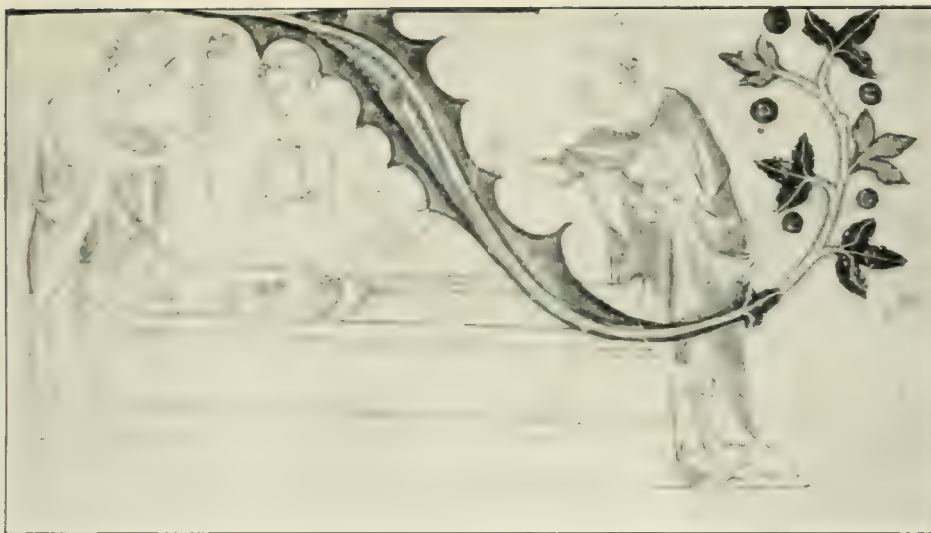
¹ *Ibid.*, *Yast*, xxij: ij: 26-32; p. 319.

² *Manuale ad usum Sarum in Manuale et Processionale ad usum insignis ecclesiae eboracensis* Surtees Society, 1875; p. 67*, 77*: Nunquam thurificetur corpus alicuius defuncti ad *Placebo Domino* vel ad *Dirige Domine* secundum usum Sarum, sed semper ad missam tantum." Clement Maydeston, however, states that the corpse was not censured at *Magnificat* nor at *Benedictus* unless it were the body of a king, a bishop, a count, or a baron, according to the Ordinal (*Tracts of Clement Maydeston*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1894; p. 41).

³ *Ibid.*, 77*.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 80*, 81*.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 82*, 83*.



Bishop censing the body at the funeral of a bishop : another bishop is reading the absolutions. XIIIth century.



Censing at a burial. From a Spanish MS. of the XIVth century.

The York¹ use was similar, but varied in some details of small importance : and before the procession to the grave the corpse was censed thrice.

In the twelfth century pontifical at Magdalen College, Oxford, the priest is directed to cense the altar before the corpse during the above-mentioned responds : and there are only two sprinklings and censings on arrival at the grave, one on the tomb being opened, and the other after the corpse has been laid therein.²

Some further details can be gleaned from accounts of royal funerals. At that of Prince Arthur³ in 1502, after the mass of *Requiem* at Worcester, "at the time of St. John's Gospel Sir Griffith ap Rice offered to the Deacon the rich banner. The gospel finished, all the aforesaid prelates [Chester, Sarum, and Lincoln] came and censed the corpse." When Queen Mary I was buried⁴ dirge and mass were sung on the Saturday (10 December, 1558) at St. James' Chapel, with three masses, of our Lady, of the Holy Ghost, and of *Requiem* on the Sunday : "At *Magnificat* the Corppes was sensed by the said Bushope [of Coventry and Lichfield] and the Bushoppe of Exeter. . . . They that senced had their Crossiers borne before them." Dirge was again sung, at the Abbey, on Tuesday⁵ : "at *Magnificat* and *Benedictus* twoo of the chieffeste Bushoppes aforesaid senced the Corse thrysse aboute." The choir sang the anthem *Circumdederunt* and the corpse was censed after the *In principio* of the mass of *Requiem* on Wednesday.⁶ This shows that the simpler ceremonial of the Sarum rite was not followed elsewhere and on more solemn occasions.

At Rome, in the fourteenth century, at the quire service of the departed there was censings. At *Magnificat* and at

¹ *Manuale Ebor.*, 94.

² *Ibid.*, 191 *, 192 *.

³ J. Leland, *Collectanea*, Edit. Thos. Hearne, Appx., London, 1770 ; vol. v, p. 376.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 312.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 320.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 322.

Benedictus the altar and the Eucharist were censed, and then the pope, but no other.¹ At mass of *Requiem*, on the other hand, the Roman custom was to use incense but once, and that at the Offertory.² At the gospel, lights were carried, but not incense. The private character of masses for the departed is shown by the regulation³ that the popes should not celebrate such masses *in pontificalibus*, but only secretly.

Durandus⁴ states that though in masses for the living all persons present should be censed, to signify that their prayers are directed heavenwards; yet in masses for the departed incense ought not to be carried round the quire, nor offered (that is, at the altar); but only to be carried around the corpse. He says that it is forbidden by the law: alleging the prohibition from offering the oil of gladness and the incense of sweetness for sin. The bodies of the dead are censed, and sprinkled with holy water, not to take away their sin, which cannot then be taken away by such means; but to restrain evil spirits, and send them away.

Similar teaching is found in the *Ordo* of Sienna, drawn up by Oderic, canon of that church, in 1213. "At masses for the departed," he says,⁵ "incense ought not to be carried round the choir, nor offered, nor may the altar be censed, but it should only be burned around the corpse; because it was forbidden in the Law to offer for sins the oil of gladness and incense of sweetness, but only grief and contrition of mind."

¹ Mabillon, *Museum italicum*, ij, 522. Migne, *Patr. lat.*, lxxviii, 1346.

² *Ordo XV* ap. Mabillon, *Museum italicum*, ij, 522. Migne, 1346.

³ "Nec est de more quod romani pontifices celebrant in pontificalibus pro defunctis sed bene secrete" (*Ibid.*).

⁴ Durandus, *Rationale*, Lib. VII: cap. xxxv: n. 29, and n. 27 prope finem.

⁵ *Ordo Senensis*, Edit. Trombelli, p. 502: "Ad missas autem Defunctorum thus non debet portari per Chorum, nec offerri, nec thurificari Altare, sed circa corpus tantum, nam in Lege prohibitum fuit ne pro peccatis offerretur oleum laetitiae et thus suavitatis, sed luctus et contritio mentis."

CHAPTER III

INCENSE AS A SACRIFICE TO GOD

WE have already alluded to the change of opinion which gradually came over the Church in regard to the propriety of offering incense as a sacrifice to God.¹ For the first five centuries of the Christian era the Fathers held that incense ought not to be so employed. "Incense is an abomination unto me," they quoted : and they backed up their thesis with the philosophical argument that Almighty God, being an incorporeal spirit, could take no pleasure in a mere corporeal odour. But by degrees a change came over the teaching of the Church. More stress came to be laid on those passages of the Old Testament wherein it is taught that God ordained the incense-sacrifice, and took pleasure in it ; and by the sixth century we have undoubted cases of Christians offering incense as a sacrifice and a propitiation.² The Testament of St. Ephraim marks the period of this transition.

¹ Some of the earlier Fathers take the offering of frankincense which the Magi presented, as an acknowledgment of our Lord's priesthood: e.g., St. Cyprian, *De stella et Magis et Innocentium morte* (Caecilius Cyprianus carthagensis episcopus, *Opera*, Antverpiae, 1589; p. 408. Hilarius pictavorum episcopus, *Lucubrationes*, [*In Matthaeum commentarius*, canon j], Parisijs, 1544; fol. 98 verso H). But Aurelius Prudentius Clemens, *Hymnus Epiphaniae*, str. 18: "Regem Deumque adnunciat thesaurus et fragrans odor turis sabaei, ac myrreus pulvis sepulcrum praedocet." *Cnf.* the Syrian inscription in a niche near the tomb of Mâr Behnâm, martyred by his father, a Persian King: "Like the censer in the sanctuary, So is Mâr Behnâm in his convent; And what rain and dew are to the earth, So are his prayers to their souls" (G. P. Badger, *The Nestorians and their Rituals*, London, 1852; vol. j p. 95.)

² Henry Dodwell, the nonjuror, wrote a *Discourse concerning the Use of Incense* in which he proved that the Primitive Church did not allow of the use of incense as a sacrifice: but as John Johnson points out (*The*

Old Zozimas, a holy man of Phoenicia, being by chance at Caesarea, in 526, in the house of a noble senator named Arcesilaus, became miraculously aware of the destruction of Antioch by an earthquake at that moment; and, after weeping and lamenting, called for a censer and burned incense in it, and then fell to the ground, seeking to pacify the wrath of the Almighty with earnest and zealous prayer.¹

In the Life of St. Onuphrius,² a hermit, this saint thus addresses Paphnutius, after giving him directions for his burial: "Beloved brother, (for I know thy desires), when thou returnest to Egypt, remember me in the presence of thy brethren, and in the sight of all worshippers of Christ. This is my request, which I have preferred of the Lord God. If any one shall sacrifice an oblation for my name's sake in the sight of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to his praise, he shall stand freed from all temptation of the devil and the bond of human sin; and with the holy angels he shall become capable of the everlasting heritage of the kingdom of heaven. But if he should be unable to offer an oblation, or, for lack of means, to purchase one, let him give an alms to the poor in the Lord's name and to his honour; and I will pray for him in the sight of God that he may become worthy to enjoy the life in the heavens above. If anyone can offer neither an oblation nor an alms, for my love let him kindle incense to our Lord God in the odour of sweetness; and I will pray for him that he may gain eternal joy." To whom Paphnutius says: "My Father, be not angry if I speak: if anyone should have no incense, nor any other means whereby he can appease God, how shall he yet not lack thy blessing in whatsoever tribulation he calls on thee?" Then he answers: "If any poor man,

Clergyman's Vade-Mecum, 4th Edition, London, 1731; pt. ij, p. 5) none of his authorities prove, that the Primitive Christians thought the "use of Incense as a grateful Perfume, prohibited." I have found his book, however, very suggestive and useful.

¹ Evagrius Scholasticus, *Hist. eccl.*, Lib. IV: cap. vij.

² Migne, *Patr. lat.*, lxxij, 218.

being in the desert or in some other place where he has neither oblation, alms, nor incense to sacrifice; let him rise, and, stretching his hands towards the Lord, say for me thrice the Lord's Prayer, that is, *Our Father*, and sing a psalm in the name of the Holy Trinity. And I will intercede for him to the Lord, that he may be made a partaker of the heavenly life with all the saints of God."

Onuphrius is said to have died at the end of the fourth century: but the anonymous *Life* was written many years later. The passage quoted portrays a peculiar atmosphere of religious thought: and it suggests that the monks of the Thebaid had some large influence in the movement which we are considering.

The death of one Simeon Stylites by lightning became miraculously known to another Stylite, an abbot Julian; who astonished his disciples by speaking to them at an unaccustomed time, and demanding some incense in a censer. They asked him for an explanation of such an unusual breach of habit: and the old man said that his brother Simeon had just been struck by lightning, and lo! his soul was passing away with leaping and dancing.¹ They were distant one from the other about twenty-four miles. Julian, it would appear from this, wished to burn the incense to obtain favourable consideration for Simeon: and for a somewhat similar purpose Sabas (c. 530) asks for coals, and casts incense thereon, on the occasion of what he conceived to be a divine visitation.²

The poetical writer Corippus³ records in a vague indefinite way that the Emperor Justin II (565-578) burned incense in a church on a certain occasion.

Evagrius,⁴ not very lucidly, has preserved a similar

¹ Migne, *Patr. lat.*, lxxiv, 147.

² *Vita Sabae*, n. 46, ap. J. B. Cotelier, *Monumenta Eccl. graec.*, Paris, 1677; t. iij, 292.

³ Fl. Cresconius Corippus, *De laudibus Iustini Minoris*, Lib. II, ll. 8 sq: Illicet angelici pergens ad limina templi Imposuit pia tura focis cerasque micantes Obtulit, et supplex lacrimis ita coepit obortis.

⁴ Evagrius Scholasticus, *Hist. eccl.*, Lib. V, cap. xxj.

instance at the end of the sixth century. There were signs, he tells us, which foreshadowed that Maurice should be crowned emperor. Late one night, he was offering incense within the church of St. Mary at Antioch, when the sanctuary veil seemed all afire, whereat Maurice was not unnaturally startled. But Gregory the bishop of that city assured him that it was without doubt an omen from Heaven.

It used to be said of one Egyptian abbot, Isaac,¹ that he ate the ash of his incense-oblation with his bread: with which we may compare a passage in the anaphora of the Liturgy of John of Busrah.² In place of the burnt sacrifices of the old Law, it says, "we offer unto thee, as a sweet savour, bread of fine flour, mixed with oil, and incense:" and the idea seems to be taken from Leviticus i, 1.

We find this sacrificial idea in the prayers of Incense in the Greek and other oriental liturgies.

In a tenth century MS, the St. Salvator *kontakion*,³ the prayer of incense before the Gospel in the Liturgy of St. James asks that it may be received at the holy and heavenly altar "for a sweet savour, for forgiveness of our sins, and for a propitiation for thy people." At the Great Entrance the priest⁴ prays God (according to a fourteenth century MS of the same liturgy) to "receive from the hands of us sinners this incense, as thou didst receive the offering of Abel and Noah and Aaron and Samuel and all thy saints."

¹ *Apothegmata Patrum: De abbate Isaaco Presbytero Celliorum*, n. vj, ap. J. B. Cotelier, *Ecclesiae graecae Monumenta*, Paris, 1677; t. j, p. 491. E. A. W. Budge, *The Book of Paradise*, (Lady Meux MS. no. 6) London, 1904; pp. 610, 611. These Sayings were not collected by Palladius, but by 'Anân-Îshô' in the seventh century, from Greek and Latin sources (*Ibid.*, lxxvij).

² Eus. Renaudot, *Liturgiarum orientalium collectio*, Francofurti ad Moenum, 1847; t. ij, pp 426, 435. He died c. 650.

³ F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, Oxford, 1896; vol. j, p. 36; and for the date, p. 2, note 3: *εἰς ἄφεσιν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν καὶ εἰς ἰλασμόν τοῦ λαοῦ σου*. F. C. Conybeare and A. J. Maclean, *Rituale Armenorum*, Oxford, 1905; p. 436.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 41: and for the date, p. 2, note 3.

The Syrian Jacobites¹ at the beginning of the Mass of the Catechumens offer incense "after the pattern of Aaron the priest, who offered pure incense unto thee in the tabernacle that was for a time, and stayed thereby the plague from the people of Israel. So we beseech thee, O Lord, receive this savour of spices which our lowliness offers unto thee by reason of our sins and our offences. . . in the behalf of the living and the dead, and the repose of their souls in the heavenly Jerusalem." Further on the prayers² continue: "Receive, O my Lord, in thy mercy the incense of thy servants, and be reconciled by the smoke of thy priests."

In the Greek Liturgy of St. Mark,³ at the Little Entrance, the priest offers the incense "for a sweet savour and for the remission of our sins and those of all thy people": before the gospel,⁴ that it having been admitted to thy holy heavenly and spiritual altar, we may receive in exchange the grace of thy holy Spirit: at the great Entrance,⁵ with a prayer that we may be made worthy of all heavenly blessings: and after the kiss of Peace,⁶ for a sweet savour, forgiveness of sins and propitiation, as in the first prayer quoted above from the Liturgy of St. James. During the reading of the Diptychs⁷ incense is burned at the mention of the sacrifice of our father Abraham, and the incense of Zacharias.

The Coptic Jacobites⁸ burn incense at the commencement of the Mass of the Catechumens and pray: "purify our hearts, and sanctify our souls, and cleanse us from all sins"; and before the lesson from the Acts,⁹ praying: "accept at

¹ *Ibid.*, 74.

² *Ibid.*, 76.

³ *Ibid.*, 116: *εις ὁσμὴν εὐωδίας καὶ εἰς ἀφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν καὶ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ σου.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, 118. For the Greek, see p. 125 below.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 122.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 124.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 129.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 150.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 154.

our hands also, our Master, the sacrifice of this incense, and send us in recompence thereof thy rich mercy, making us to be clean from all ill savour of sin." Later on, burning of incense accompanies the litany-prayers¹ at the beginning of the mass of the faithful.

The Abyssinian Jacobites² offer incense at the beginning of the mass of the catechumens, asking that as the offerings of Abel, Enoch and Noah, and the incense of Aaron, Samuel, and Zacharias pleased, "in like manner accept from us this incense as a sweet smelling savour for the remission of our sins"; and further on³ it is again offered by the celebrant for the remission of my sins and the trespass of thy people." Before the catholic Epistle⁴ the priest again offers incense, with the prayer "remit my sin, and the sin of all thy people," and "make the light of thy grace to shine upon" thy servants and hand-maidens. At the Trisagion⁵ the priest prays that as God accepted the sacrifice of Abraham, "even so, O our Lord, accept from us our oblation and this savour of our incense, and send us from on high in recompence thereof the riches of thy loving kindness and thy mercy, that we may become pure from all ill savour of our sins." Just before the Gospel incense is again burned, with a prayer for blessing and that our entry into the holy church⁶ be joined with the entry of angels. Incense is also burned during the litany-prayers,⁷ at the beginning of the mass of the faithful.

The Nestorians⁸ pray before the gospel: "O my Lord, may the sweet savour, that was wafted forth from thee when Mary the sinner poured the fragrant ointment upon thy head, be mingled with this incense which we place to

¹ *Ibid.*, 161.

² *Ibid.*, 209.

³ *Ibid.*, 209.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 213.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 216.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 220.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 225.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 258.

thine honour, and for the pardon of our offences and of our sins, Lord of all, Father and Son and Holy Ghost, for ever. Amen." In the censuring of the paten¹ before the hosts are laid in it, the incense is regarded as the means of blessing it. Before the Fraction² is said this Prayer of Incense: "May our prayer and our petition be pleasant unto thee, O our Lord and our God, and may the smoke of our pleasant censer refresh thee like the censer of Aaron the priest in the tabernacle. And renew our souls with our bodies, and be reconciled to thy creation for thy many mercies' sake, O creator of pleasant roots and sweet spices." Then he censes his hands and face, saying a prayer for the sweetening of uncleanness and purification from sin.

In the modern Liturgy of St. Chrysostom incense is burned at the Prothesis,³ with a prayer that it may be for a sweet savour, and that we may receive in exchange the grace of the Holy Spirit.

The Armenians use a similar prayer⁴ at the Prothesis: and during the censuring of the church and people which follows, the choir sing a hymn of censuring⁵ in which they say that "we . . . burn incense before thee as Zachariah did of old. Accept from us our prayers, which we offer with the incense, like the sacrifice of Abel, of Noah, and of Abraham."

In the Nestorian *Order for the Burial of Priests*⁶ is a prayer to be said over the incense, which runs: "accept, O Lord, this incense which is presented before the throne of thy Majesty, and be favourable to the dead for whom it is offered up, and bestow upon them the pardon of their sins, and the forgiveness of their follies, and in thy righteousness, O Lord, cause them to dwell in thy glorious bridal chamber

¹ *Ibid.*, 262.

² *Ibid.*, 289.

³ *Ibid.*, 359.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 419.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 420.

⁶ G. P. Badger, *The Nestorians and their Rituals*, London, 1852; vol ij, pp. 282-3.

of light in that day when every man shall be rewarded according to his works."

We have in these prayers definite and clear evidence that the Church in the East had, from the time when she first began to use them, given up her old position of repudiating the notion of burning incense as a sacrifice. On the contrary, she there offers it with the hope that it may avail for forgiveness of sins, whether those of the quick or the dead ; as a propitiatory sacrifice, whereby God may be reconciled to us sinners ; and that God, being refreshed and pleased by the fragrant smoke, may send us certain benefits in return. Obviously we have gone far from primitive Christian ideas in all this : in fact, it is in direct opposition to the teaching of the primitive Church, and is a reversion to the notions which we found prevalent in pre-Christian days.

We have noticed above that in certain Egyptian liturgies incense was burned during the litany-prayers. The priest carried the censer around, while the people answered with *Lord have mercy* to the petitions offered by the deacon.¹ In the eleventh century a custom had arisen² of adding to the Kyries the prayer : "Receive, O Lord, this incense which is offered to thee by thy priest for our sins." Then each, turning over in his mind his own sins, confessed them secretly to God, and foolishly thought that they were thus remitted. Nor did the superstition stay there : at last they used to set a censer before them at home, without the ministry of any priest, and casting incense in it confessed their sins to the smoke, and believed that by that means they were fully remitted. This strange superstition was

¹ *Ibid.*, 161.

² Eus. Renaudot, *Liturgiarum orientalium collectio*, Francofurti ad Moenum, 1847 ; t. j, pp. 184 sq. Mr. Errington brought up this superstitious use of incense by these obscure Easterns at the Lambeth Hearing. But he omitted to say when, or by whom, this was done : any one who did not know the facts would think it a medieval English abuse. I do not think it quite a fair use of the passage : it creates, as perhaps was intended, an atmosphere of prejudice against the use of incense which is quite unjustified, and unjustifiable (*Case against Incense*, London, 1899 ; p. 109).

found also among the Abyssinians, and the Nestorians of Malabar.¹

The source of the incense-prayer, which asks that the sweet savour may be brought to the heavenly altar, and that we may receive in exchange or return the grace of the Holy Ghost, is the prayer of Offering in the Byzantine rite of the ninth century (c. 800), according to the liturgy of St. Basil. Speaking of the holy gifts, it says as follows :

| | |
|---|--|
| ἦν προσδεξάμενος εἰς τὸ ἅγιον καὶ ὑπερουράνιον καὶ νοερόν σου θυσιαστήριον εἰς ὁσμὴν εὐωδίας ἀντικατάπεμπσον ἡμῖν τὴν χάριν τοῦ ἁγίου σου πνεύματος. ² | ὁ προσδεξάμενος εἰς τὸ ἅγιον καὶ ὑπερουράνιον καὶ νοερόν σου θυσιαστήριον ἀντικατάπεμπσον ἡμῖν τὴν χάριν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. ³ |
|---|--|

In the second column is placed the corresponding passage from the prayer of incense from the Greek liturgy of St. Mark from a MS of the twelfth century : the two are practically identical. It is clear that the ritualists who adapted this sacrificial prayer for use with incense held the notion that the incense so offered was also a sacrifice to God. The adaptation probably was effected in the course of the ninth or tenth century.

The East, however, had no monopoly of this curious reversion to pre-Christian ideas. At the close of the seventh century we find something analogous in the Gallican rite for the consecration of an altar, in the course of which the bishop offered incense upon the same, as a most sweet odour⁴ unto the Lord ; but at a later period we find much plainer language, closely resembling that of the oriental prayers.

An early MS, quoted by Martène, and by him ascribed to the ninth⁵ century, gives six prayers for blessing incense

¹ *Ibid.*, 185.

² F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, 401.

³ *Ibid.*, 118 : and for the date, 112, note 1.

⁴ H. A. Wilson, *The Gelasian Sacramentary*, Oxford, 1894 : p. 133.

⁵ Edm. Martène, *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus*, Lib. I : cap. iv : art. xij : ordo v : Antuerpiae, 1736-38 ; t. j, col, 525. It is probably much later.

at the offertory : two of which, the first and the fifth, pray God to receive the incense, and make it acceptable in his sight, that it may avail "for the remission of our sins and those of thy people." The third, after recalling the acceptance of the offerings of Abel, Noah, and Aaron and other holy persons, continues : "vouchsafe to receive this incense that it may become for thee an odour of sweetness, and for us a propitiation for our sins." The fourth and sixth both recall the accepted gifts of various Old Testament persons, and ask that the incense may be for an odour of sweetness, and for remission of all our sins. Most of these prayers also appear in the Troyes pontifical.¹

The third of these is also found in a tenth century MS whose provenance is Corbie,² together with another prayer which begins as follows : "Let thine anger, O Lord, against me, and against this place, and against thy people, be appeased by this incense." This last prayer also occurs in a Stavelot MS³ which Martène considered was of the use of Verdun.

In many MSS⁴ there appears a prayer similar to the oriental ones in which the notion of getting something in exchange for the incense⁵ is cautiously expressed : "May this incense, blessed by thee ascend, unto thee, O Lord ; and let thy mercy descend upon us." This prayer is still to be found in the Pian Roman massbook, and is said by the priest as he censes the oblations.

In another MS we have a form for blessing a censer,⁶ in

¹ *Ibid.*, Ordo vj ; j, 531. Martène says that it is of the ninth century, but it is probably later.

² *Ibid.*, Ordo xj ; j, 565-6.

³ *Ibid.*, Ordo xv ; j, 592.

⁴ *E.g.* Mass of M. Fl. Illyricus, *ap.* Martène, *op. cit.*, Lib. I : cap. iv : art. xij : ordo iv ; col. 511. Salzburg pontifical, *ibid.*, ordo xij ; col. 578. Stavelot MS [formerly Verdun], *ibid.*, ordo xv ; col. 592. Gregorsminster MS, *ibid.*, ordo xvj ; col. 592.

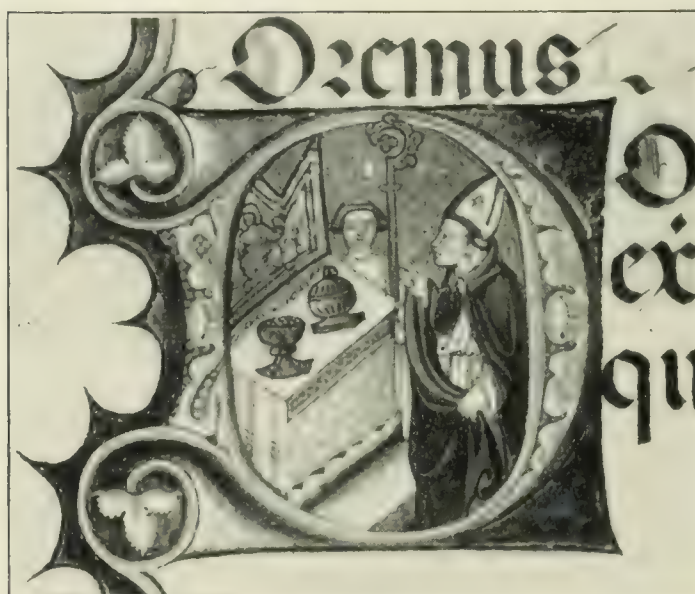
⁵ "Incensum istud, a te benedictum, ascendat ad te, Domine ; et descendat super nos misericordia tua."

⁶ See Appendix, p. 395 no. ij.

[To face p. 127.]



Bishop about to put incense into the censer.



The blessing of a censer and ship for incense.

which, after recalling how Aaron stood between the quick and the dead, and stayed the plague, the blessing of God is invoked on it, "that so often as we offer incense unto thee in it, thou mayest make us to be a temple of good odour, acceptable to thy Christ."

Of similar import was the use of incense by Abbot Ceolfrid (c. 716) just before setting out for Rome. We have two accounts of what he did: one by the venerable Bede,¹ and the other by an anonymous author.² After mass he called the brethren into the church of St. Peter, and begged them to pray for him; himself saying a prayer and burning incense: then still holding the censer, he gave them the kiss of peace. That done he went to the chapel of blessed Laurence the Martyr, which was in the dormitory, they all following him and singing anthems and a psalm. There he again burned incense, and exhorted them to keep the peace among themselves: and at the end of his discourse they all accompanied him to the ship. Going on board he seated himself in the prow between two deacons, of whom one carried a golden cross and the other held lighted tapers in his hands.

¹ "Cantata ergo primo mane missa in ecclesia beati Dei Genetricis semperque virginis Mariae, et in ecclesia apostoli Petri, pridie nonas Iunii quinta feria, et communicantibus qui aderant continuo praeparatur ad eundum. Conveniunt omnes in ecclesiam beati Petri; ipse, tunc incenso, et dicta oratione ad altare, pacem dat omnibus, stans in gradibus turibulum habens in manu: hinc fletibus universorum letanias resonantibus exeunt (*Miscellaneous Works of the Venerable Bede*, edit. J. A. Giles, London, 1843; iv, 392).

² Confestim paratus vocat fratres omnes in ecclesia Petri, rogat pro se orare, dicit et ipse orationem, accendit thymiana, habensque in manu turibulum consistit in gradibus ubi legere consuevit, dat osculum plurimis, nam ne omnibus luctu et suo et ipsorum praepeditur. Egreditur cum turibulo ad oratorium beati Laurentii martyris quod est in dormitorio fratrum. . . et ibi incenso tunc, exiens rursum alloquitur omnes ut pacem invicem servent. . . . Completa allocutione . . . egrediuntur ad fluvium . . . : et dicta in littore oratione, ascendit navem, residet in prora, sederunt iuxta diacones unus crucem quam fecerat auream, alter cereas manu tenens ardentem (*Ibid*; vj, 425).

In the thirteenth century the priest at Soissons¹ offered incense after the offertory with this prayer :

O Lord, our God, who didst receive the offerings of Abel, Noah, Aroñ, and Samuel ; vouchsafe likewise to receive from our sinful hand this incense, for a sweet savour, and for the remission of all our sins ; through, etc.,

In the reformed Mozarabic rite, in the massbook of Seville² of 1507, and in that of Toledo³ of 1512, another prayer, clearly indicating that incense was regarded as a propitiatory sacrifice, was said at the offering of incense.

Be appeased, O Lord, by this incense, towards me and thy people, sparing our sins ; and let thy wrath and anger be quieted ; favourably grant that we may be a good odour unto thee in the life eternal.

It is necessary to distinguish between “prayers of incense,” and “blessings of incense” ; many writers confuse the two, which are nevertheless quite distinct. A “blessing” is a form which contains a prayer, but one that the object which is to be blessed may be set apart for a holy purpose. A “prayer of incense” is a form to be used while the incense is being offered up, and specifies the particular object for which the sacrifice is being made.

Forms for blessing incense do not make their appearance in the West much before the eleventh century ; and the earliest instance seems to be that in the Benedictional of Archbishop Robert, written at Winchester in the latter

¹ Edm. Martène, *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus*, Lib. I : cap : iv : art. xij : ordo xxij : Antuerpiae, 1736-38 ; t. j, col. 611-12.

² *Incensando dicat sacerdos. Oratio.* Placare, Domine, per hoc incensum mihi et populo tuo : parcens peccatis nostris : et quiescat ira et furor tuus : presta propicius : ut bonus odor simus tibi in vitam eternam. Amen (*Missale mixtum*, in Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, lxxxv, 529). *Missale secundum usum alme ecclesie hispalensis* printed at Seville in 1507. The wording therein is not quite identical with the Mozarabic form of the prayer : and is followed by *Omnipotens deus qui suscepisti munera Abel*, etc., as in the Troyes pontifical, at Soissons, and elsewhere.

³ *Missale toletanum*, Burgos, 1512 ; fo. cxx verso : “*Incensando dicat sacerdos* : Placare domine per hoc incensum mihi, etc.

part of the tenth century.¹ But this is a long form, probably for use on Easter Even : and subsequently was so employed in the Sarum rite. The earliest short forms for use during mass appear in the Tilian MS,² which belonged to the church of Séez in Normandy, and was written c. 1035.

There are no such forms in the Roman *Ordines* II, V, and VI, printed by Mabillon, of the ninth century. John of Avranches, c. 1030, makes no mention of them. The monks of Charterhouse did not, nor do now, use any blessing of incense at all : and Martène,³ writing of the earlier monastic rites, states that amongst the Casaline Benedictines, *singulari, ut credo, ritu*, the incense was blessed before the Gospel, but elsewhere not so.

There is no mention of a blessing of incense in the Ambrosian rite of the twelfth century, nor did they adopt it for many years after. The Hereford and the York mass-books have no mention of these forms : the Mozarabic rite has a prayer of incense, but no blessing.

There is no doubt therefore that the blessing of incense was of late introduction in the West. In the East it can hardly be said to have appeared yet : for although in the modern Liturgy of St. Chrysostom⁴ the deacon asks the priest to bless the incense, the form which the priest uses is that taken from the ancient offertory-prayer, and is distinctly a prayer of incense, and not a blessing.

The Schoolmen were by no means agreed amongst themselves as to the reasons for the use of incense in Christian

¹ *Benedictional of Archbishop Robert*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1903 ; pp. xj, 94.

² Migne, *Patr. lat.*, lxxviii, 247, 249. These forms also appear in two MSS which Martène ascribes to the ninth century : *De ant. eccl. rit.*, Lib. I : cap. iv : art. xij : ordines v, and vj. But as for many reasons his date for them is not generally accepted, I have omitted to mention them save in this note.

³ Martène, *De antiquis ecclesiae (monachorum) ritibus*, Lib. II : cap. iv : § ij : n. iv.

⁴ F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, Oxford, 1896 ; vol. j, p. 359. The text is almost identical with the passage quoted above, on p. 125.

worship. The angelic Doctor¹ denied that its use had anything to do with the Law ; regarding it as a fumigatory use established by ecclesiastical regulation only. The seraphic Doctor² on the other hand considered that it was one of the ceremonies of the Jewish Law which was not abolished by Christ, and therefore it remained with the Church.

Commenting on a constitution of Thomas Arundel's, Lindewode³ glosses the word *Thurificationibus* as follows :

By Censings. That is, by incensations or sacrificings, according to Januensis. For everything is termed a sacrifice that is burned upon an altar, according to Isidore : and so incense or frankincense burned upon an altar can be termed a sacrifice, and such a sacrifice remains still under the New Testament, as it used to be observed under the Old Testament, although the other sacrifices of the Old Testament have ceased. And the reason is, that censuring signifies what has always been offered, to wit : prayer, and the devotion of the mind to God ; so that its literal observance is moral. For in censuring, God is honoured just as he is honoured in the grandeur and beauty of a material church. For the grandeur of a material church signifies the image of the spiritual church which is the Kingdom of Heaven, or the soul of the just, which is greater than the whole world, soft not with distension of body, but with virtue and power, as Austin says. And such a sacrifice can be termed a kind of *latria*, which is worship due to God alone. For *latria* is made up of five parts, to wit : prayer, adoration, adjuration, sacrificing, and praising, as Philip de Pergamo notes. . . Wherefore neither the clergy nor the laity ought to be censured with the same incense wherewith the altar is censured, but with other and unblest incense. And such appears to be the opinion of the Master in *Historiis Exodi*, 30 cap., ad finem. And hence it is that certain ordinals have it that, in the blessing of wedded persons, after the altar's censuring, the bridegroom and bride should not be censured with the same incense, but with other.

Lindewode here follows St. Bonaventure and his school in regarding incense offered at the altar as a sacrifice, and one belonging to the old Law which was continued under the Christian dispensation.

¹ S. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, pars III : qu. 83 : art. v, ad ij^m.

² S. Bonaventura, *In libros Sententiarum*, Lib. IV : dist. III : pars ij : art. iij : quaest. j : "Ratio, qua re aliqua legalia cessaverunt, est quia significatum eorum impletum est : et ratio qua re aliqua durant, est quia signant quod semper faciendum est ; ideo remansit thurificatio."

³ Lindewode, *Provinciale*, Lib. V : tit. *De Hereticis* : cap. *Nullus quoque* : verb. *thurificationibus*.

CHAPTER IV

INCENSE AS A DEMONIFUGE

Amongst other powers wherewith incense was credited by pre-Christian religions was that of driving away evil spirits : and in course of time, under the influence of the book of Tobit, Christians also came to accept this doctrine. We find this fully expressed in the Western forms for blessing censers and incense, from about the tenth century onwards. One of these ¹ after recalling how Aaron appeased the Lord with incense when the Israelites rebelled, asks a blessing on the censer that the incense burned therein may put demons to flight, repel phantasms, and cause all impure thoughts to depart. Another form ² prays the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, to send into the incense the power and strength of His savour, that it may be a safe defence to his people lest the enemy enter their bowels or take up his habitation there. Again, in another form ³ the blessing is to put to flight all the snares of weariness and demons which may perceive the smell of the incense. Yet again,⁴ it is blessed that the smoke may drive away the assaults of unclean spirits, and, expelling all diseases, restore health.

This idea is not so prevalent in the oriental rites, where we might have expected to find it more marked than in the Western. However, in the prayer of incense at the Great Entrance,⁵ in the Greek Liturgy of St. James, the priest prays for cleansing from foul desires and worldly deceit, and all diabolical working. Previously, before the Little

¹ See Appendix, p. 395 number i.

² *Ibid.*, p. 396 number iij.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 396 number iv.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 397 number v.

⁵ F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, j, 41.

Entrance,¹ he had prayed that what was ill-smelling, both in our souls and bodies, might be made sweet ; which is of a similar intent. There are also some oriental prayers of incense in which the Lord is besought² to cleanse and purify our hearts ; an idea which is no doubt ultimately based on the demonifuge powers of incense.

In an Armenian Euchologion³ of the ninth or tenth century there is a form for blessing incense which is quite distinct in its recognition of the demonifuge powers of the gum. After recalling the Korah incident, the prayer goes on :

“And now we pray thee, Lord, accept this incense at our hands, as thou didst accept at the hands of Aaron and of Zechariah, for we are not rebellious against thy wonders, to the end that the dread of the darkness-loving unseen enemy may flee away from us.”

We should naturally expect this notion to have survived amongst these descendants of the worshippers of Ahuramazda, and Anâhiba, the goddess of the waters.

Innocent III gives various reasons for censuring the altar ; and amongst them, that all evil doings of the devil be driven away from it : for the smoke of incense, he says, is believed to have the power of putting demons to flight.⁴ Durandus says the same thing⁵ in practically the same words : and, like Innocent, reiterates the idea in speaking of censuring the oblations,⁶ which he says is done so that, by the sign of the cross, and burning of incense, they may be freed from the evil influence of diabolical cunning.

The demonifuge powers of incense are recognised in a

¹ *Ibid.*, 32.

² *Ibid.*, 150, 154.

³ F. C. Conybeare, and A. J. Maclean, *Rituale Armenorum*, Oxford, 1905 ; pp. 220-21.

⁴ *De sacro altaris mysterio*, Lib. II : cap. xvij ; Migne, *Pat. lat.*, ccxvij, 808.

⁵ Gul. Durandus, *Rationale divinorum officiorum*, Lib. IV : cap. x : n. 5.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Lib. IV : cap. xxxj : n. j. Innocent III, *De sacro altaris mysterio*, Lib. II : cap. lvij ; 834.

blessing of incense found in the Milan massbook of 1560, quoted by Martène¹: and as late as 1870, at Augsburg, it was blessed to drive away unclean spirits, and diseases.² The Augsburg *Rituale* of 1764 has also several forms for blessing houses at different times, which with the exception of that on Eastern Even are accompanied by censuring: and amongst them is a form entitled *Benedictio domus a daemonio vexatae*,³ in which incense is blessed with the forms *Per intercessionem* and *Incensum istud a te*.

From this notion of the demonifuge properties of incense, driving away the evil spirits which cause disease, naturally arose its use in visiting the sick. We find this in the pontifical of Prudentius, bishop of Troyes,⁴ of the tenth century: a MS of St. Mary at Reims⁵ (c. 950); a Narbonne pontifical,⁶ c. 1000; a MS of the monastery of St. Remi at Reims⁷ of about the same date; and two MSS of about 1200, one of Fleury,⁸ and the other of St. Mary of Pontlevry, Blois.⁹ In these cases incense is carried to the house of the sick man, and the room or doorway censured on entrance.

In the Armenian rite of the ninth century the priest, who

¹ Edm. Martène, *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus*, Lib. I: cap. iv: art. xij: ordo iij: Antwerpiae, 1736-38; t. j, col. 484: "Istud est incensum contra insidias diaboli firmamentum."

² *Rituale augustanum*, Augustae Vindelicorum, 1870; p. 277.

³ *Rituale augustanum ad normam ritualis romani recognitum*, Augustae Vindelicorum, 1764; pp. 369-70.

⁴ Edm. Martène, *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus*, Lib. I: cap. vij: art. iv: ordo iij: Antwerpiae, 1736-38; t. j, col. 847: "aspergatur aqua benedicta cum odore incensi." Martène's dates of MSS are generally too early.

⁵ *Ibid.*, ordo x; j, 863.

⁶ *Ibid.*, ordo xij; j, 889.

⁷ S. Gregorius Magnus, *Opera*, Paris, 1705; t. iij, col. 543.

⁸ Martène, *op. cit.*, ordo xxiv; j, 934. Lib. III: cap. xv: ordo j; ij, 1045.

⁹ *Ibid.*, ordo xxv; j, 944.

carries the Eucharist to the sick, is preceded by a cross and a censer.¹

In the early part of the twelfth century a custom was in vogue in Rome which illustrates the use of incense in connection with sickness. On the feast of St. Paul, the Pope and all his *scholae* went to the Basilica of St. Paul without the walls, and sang evensong; after which he dined with the clergy of the church. Then they went to Vigils. After the respond to the fourth lesson the Pope arose and went to the altar under which St. Paul's body is enshrined, and uncovered an opening over the body of the apostle, reached his hand in, and unhooked the censer hanging there and drew it out of the confession. The incense and coals in the censer he gave to the archdeacon, who distributed them amongst the people, that, whosoever being in a fever should drink of them devoutly, trusting the apostle, should be healed. Then he refilled the censer with lighted coals and incense, and replacing it in the confession, closed the opening again.²

This is no doubt a mixed instance: the febrifuge properties of the incense and ashes partly derived from the demonifuge powers of incense; but also they were regarded as relics of the apostle and derived their curative powers from his sanctity. A similar case to the latter is the healing of the sick with oil from the lamp hanging before the tomb or even the picture of some saint: instances of which are not uncommon in the hagiographies.³

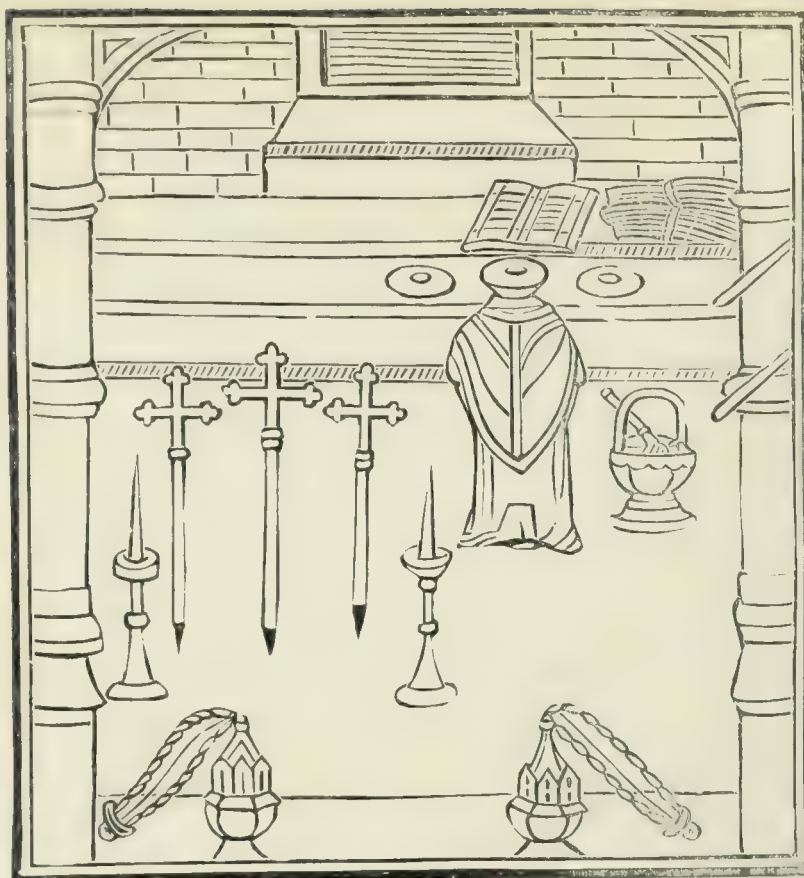
Church bells are rung, according to Durandus,⁴ for several purposes: besides obvious reasons for their use, he

¹ F. C. Conybeare and A. J. Maclean, *Rituale Armenorum*, Oxford, 1905; p. 114.

² *Ordo romanus XI*, n. 69; Mabillon, *Museum italicum* ij, 150; or Migne, *Patr. lat.*, lxxviii, 1051.

³ E.g. Venantius Honorius Fortunatus, *De vita Martini*, Lib. IV, towards the end: at the Basilica of SS. John and Paul. Greg. Turon. *De miraculis S. Martini*, Lib. I: cap. xv, *ap.* Migne, *Patr. lat.*, lxxj, 927, tells a similar tale, as happening at Ravenna.

⁴ *Rationale divinorum officiorum*, Lib. I: cap. iv: nn. 2, 3, 14, 15.



Station at the blessing of candles on Candlemas Day.



Station while the Branches are blessed on Palm Sunday.

Diagrams from the Sarum Processional.

states that at their sound the powers of evil fly, the violence and destructive powers of hailstorms, tempests, and lightning are subdued ; devils, it appears, are as terrified at the sound of a hallowed bell as they are of a drop of holy water.¹

The mode of hallowing these bells was to use certain prayers and anthems whilst the cavity of the bell was being filled with smoke from a censer set underneath.² The forms used mention the demonifuge powers enumerated by Durandus. It seems probable that there is a fusion of two anti-demoniac notions in this use of bells : one derived from the idea that incense was demonifuge—the bell, having been filled with incense smoke, receiving a like power ; and the other coming down from pre-Christian days, when it was believed that the demons or evil spirits which were causing storms could be scared away by a noise.

Connected with the same idea is the use of incense in the course of formal blessings of various objects : to some extent the idea of purifying by fumigation also enters into the same use. In fact it is not easy always to determine where the one idea ends and the other begins : they are naturally considerably interwoven.

Incense and holy water are used in a form for blessing a cross, given³ by Hittorp : *Hic adspergat eam aqua benedicta, addens odorem incensi*. This may be as early as the ninth century. As time went on, incense and holy water became general accompaniments of all such benedictions : as for instance, of candles on Candlemas Day, and of palm on Palmsunday. Hittorp⁴ gives a “general benediction of

¹ It is curious to notice that both of these were also objects of dislike with the Puritans of the sixteenth century.

² “Tunc pones in incensario ignem et tymiana, thus et myrrha, et erigis cloccam super incensario, ut totum illum fumum colligat.” See Martène, *De ant. eccl. rit.*, Lib. II : cap. xij : ordines j, iij, viij. *Liber Pontificalis of Edmund Lacy*, Edt. Ralph Barnes, Exeter, 1847 ; pp. 213 sq.

³ Melchior Hittorp, *De divinis catholicae ecclesiae officijs*, Parisijs, 1612 ; 133.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 49.

everything," and after the blessing of palms: *Hac oratione expleta, spargitur aqua benedicta super ramos palmarum et olivarum et aliarum arborum. Post adpersam aquam et thurificationem factam dicitur haec oratio.*

In the non-Roman¹ rite of the West, which is conveniently termed the Gallican, there was a very general custom, of early date, of blessing a large candle on Easter Even. This candle was called in medieval England the Pascall. The forms used in this ceremony were not always the same: Ennodius, bishop of Ticino in the fourth century, is credited with having composed two.² The most famous of the forms in use is that attributed to St. Austin, beginning *Exsultet iam angelica turba caelerum*: and it was incorporated into most of the mixed Romano-Gallican uses of the later middle ages. But in the Gelasian Sacramentary³ a different form is provided, divided into two sections: of which the first begins *Deus mundi conditor, auctor luminis, siderum fabricator*, which is followed by a rubric, *Benedictio super incensum* and the prayer, *Veniat ergo, omnipotens Deus, super hunc incensum larga tuae benedictionis infusio*. In both rubric and prayer the word *incensum* is an adjective to *cereum* understood—the kindled taper. So in the *Exsultet* the clause: *In huius igitur noctis gratia, suscipe, sancte Pater, incensi huius sacrificium vespertinum quod*

¹ "Nam in catholica ecclesia infra civitatem romanam non sic benedicitur: sed mane primo sabbato sancto venit archidiaconus in ecclesiam, et fundit ceram in vas mundum maius, et miscitat ibidem oleum et benedicit ceram, et ex ea fundit similitudinem agnorum, et servat eos in loco mundo. . . . In octava vero Paschae, dantur ipsi agni ab archidiacono in ipsa ecclesia post missam et communionem populo, et ex eis faciunt incensum accendi ad suffumigandum in domibus suis pro quacumque tribulatione eis evenerit necessitas. Similiter et in forensibus civitatibus de cereo faciunt" (Hittorp, 79, 89). Amalar, *De ecclesiasticis officijs*, Lib. I: cap. xvij. *Cnf.* Durandus, *Rationale*, Lib. VI: cap. lxxix: n. iij.

² Migne, *Patr. lat.*, lxij, 257 sq.; 261 sq. In Hittorp's *Ordo cerei benedicendi in forensibus civitatibus agitur*, the taper is blessed that when lit *discedat diabolus*: and in the second form, *ut sis ubique diaboli effugatio*.

³ H. A. Wilson, *The Gelasian Sacramentary*, Oxford, 1894; p. 80.

tibi in hac cerei oblatione solemni . . . reddit ecclesia, refers, not to incense, but to the offering of the lighted taper.

As time went on, various combination of these forms were made: and in a large number¹ the phraseology applied to the lighted candle, *cereus incensus*, is diverted to incense. But the prayer, *Veniat quaesumus, omnipotens Deus super hunc incensum*, is found in several rites applied to the light: in a MS pontifical belonging to St. Germain a Prez,² of about the year 1100, at Bourges³ in 1741, Pamiers⁴ in 1845, and Le Puy⁵ in 1783; or to the newly kindled fire wherewith the pascall is lit, as at Liège⁶ in 1502, Utrecht⁷ in 1511, Lisieux⁸ in 1752, and Narbonne,⁹ 1778.

But the word *incensum* in the Gelasian prayer, *Veniat quaesumus*, was easily misunderstood. The equation *incensum* = *tus* prevailed¹⁰ generally: and soon the prayer *Veniat* became a form for blessing incense, *hoc incensum*, instead of the kindled taper, *hunc incensum*. Why there should have been any special blessing of incense on Easter Even is not so clear: nor was by any means a universal ceremony. In the form for blessing the Pascall in a large majority of uses,

¹ E.g. Rouen in the 13th century (British Museum MS 10,048, fol. 56): Hereford: York: Westminster: Rome in 1474: and numerous others.

² Edm. Martène, *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus*, Lib. IV: cap. xxiv: after n. 27: Antwerpiae, 1736 38; t. iij, col. 445.

³ *Missale bituricense*, Avarici Bituricum, 1741.

⁴ *Missale appamiense*, Tolosae, 1845: "super hunc incensum cereum."

⁵ *Missale aniciense*, Parisijs, 1783.

⁶ *Missale leodiensis ecclesie*, Spirens, 1502; fol. c.

⁷ *Missale ad verum cathedralis ecclesie trajectensis ritum*, Antwerpiae, 1511.

⁸ *Missale lexoviense*, Lexoviis, 1752.

⁹ *Missale narbonense*, Narbonae, 1778.

¹⁰ Cassian, in the fifth century, misunderstands the phrase *hora incensi* in St. Luke i. 10 (Vulg) as the time of lighting the lamp.

there occurs the phrase : *suscipe . . . incensi huius sacrificium vespertinum*, receive the evening sacrifice of this kindled [taper]. The impulse to suit the action to the word which has had so large a hand in moulding and modifying, or adding to, the earlier rites, drove someone to insert five grains of incense into the candle at these words.¹ Probably this peculiar mistake first suggested the special benediction of incense, before that of the Pascall, in some uses.² This insertion of incense-grains into the candle is very general in the uses : but the special blessing of incense much less so.³

In the Sarum books⁴ there is a solemn exorcism followed by a blessing of incense : the forms appear in the Benedictional⁵ of Robert of Jumiegès of the tenth century, and in the appendix to the Leofric missal⁶ known generally as Leofric C of the eleventh ; though in neither case is there any designation of them for Easter Even.

The Gelasian prayer or blessing *super incensum cereum* which is solely concerned with the Pascall and not with incense, has for its intention, *quocumque loco ex huius aliquid sanctificationis fuerit mysterio deportatum, expulsa diabolicae fraudis nequitia virtus tuae maiestatis assistat*.

The demonifuge idea contained in this clause passed from the blessing of the lighted taper to that of incense, when the formal blessing of incense was introduced.

¹ The context makes it abundantly clear that *incensi* means the lighted taper and not incense : *in hac cereae oblatione solemni . . . de operibus apum*.

² The use is become more general owing to the spread of the Roman rite, and the suppression of the diocesan rites.

³ Claude de Vert states that at one time this blessing obtained at Vienne, Verdun, Troies, and Toulouse, and was still kept up at Lyons (*Explication . . . des cérémonies de l'église*, Paris, 1709-13 ; t. ij, p. 119). But at a later period (missal of 1832) Toulouse at anyrate had re-adopted it from the Roman rite.

⁴ *Missale . . . Sarum*, Burntisland, 1861-1883 ; col. 336 sq.

⁵ H. A. Wilson, *The Benedictional of Archbishop Robert*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1903 ; pp. 94, 95.

⁶ F. E. Warren, *The Leofric Missal*, Oxford, 1883 ; p. 130.

[To face p. 139]

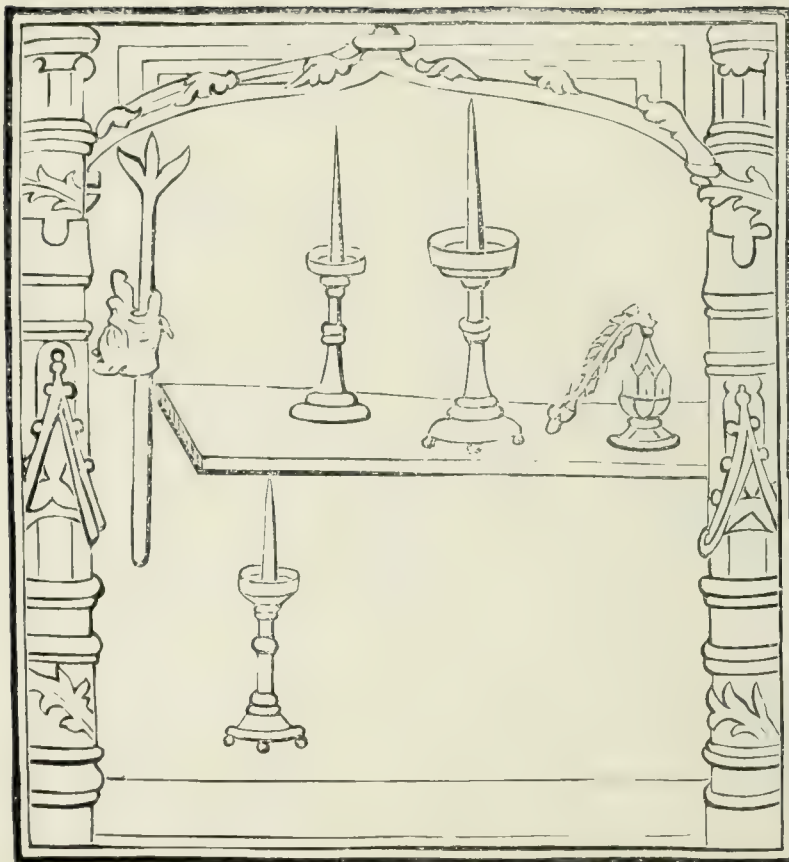


Diagram from the Sarum Processional for the station while the paschal candle is blessed on Easter Even.

The exorcism in the Benedictional of Archbishop Robert commands the unclean spirit to depart from out the incense, so that when hallowed *omnes gestantes tangentes, odorantes eam, virtutem et auxilium percipiant spiritus sancti*; and the form of benediction prays that *ubicumque fumus eius pervenerit extricetur et effugetur omne genus demoniorum* just as Tobias put to flight the demon with the burning of a fish's liver. After a reference to the verse *Dirigatur oratio mea*, and to 2 Cor. ij, 15, the form continues: *Effugiant a facie incensi huius et thymiamatis omnes demonum incursus*. The concluding paragraph, *Praesta hoc piissime* is also found in the form for blessing incense given on p. 400 of the appendix.

There are some anomalous instances of the use of incense, and lights, which are best put together here.

In the Itinerary of Antoninus Placentinus, a description of a tour in the Holy Land in the days of Justinian, who reigned from 527 to 565, a use of incense and lights is three times mentioned. At Gadara there was a hostelry having a public bath. There was there a chamber where incubation was practised: when it was full, lights and incense were brought in, and while they, who had been cleansed in the hot springs, slept, they received a vision.¹

The next instance took place at Jerusalem, where the somewhat credulous pilgrim was shewn everything that he wished or expected to see, including the pillar at which our Lord was scourged. They returned to the pool of Siloam, and there offered lights and incense, and demoniacs were cleansed.²

The third case does not seem to be a Christian use of

¹ Migne, *Patr. lat.*, lxxij, 902: "Ante ipsum verò clibanum grande est solium, quod dum impletum fuerit omnia ostia clauduntur: et per ostium mittuntur intus luminaria et incensum; et sedent in isto solio tota nocte: et dum soporati fuerint, videt ille qui mundatus est aliquam visionem."

² *Ibid.*, 908: "Et rursus per scalam ascenditur, et fiunt ibi luminaria et incensum, et daemones mundantur: nam et in ipsa provincia est beatus martyr Georgius."

these things ; at least, not entirely. On the day after the commemoration of the Lord's birth, the burial of David and Jacob was most devoutly celebrated by all, and a great crowd of Jews from the whole country gathered there : all bearing incense or lights,¹ and giving presents.

The first of these seems to be a magical use of incense and lights in connection with the incubation ; the second, a use of similar character in connection with the healing of those possessed of a demon ; but the last is rather an instance of lights and incense used to express the joyful feelings of the gathering.

Cyprian of Toulouse states that Caesarius of Arles, c. 500, sold the censers (*turibula*), chalices, and patens, to redeem captives.² The Persian king Husrau Parwiz sent money in 591 to Gregory, Patriarch of Antioch, to provide a golden chalice, a golden altar-cross, and a censer of gold for the church.³ How these censers were used we do not know : there is nothing to show whether they were hanging censers, or censers held in the hand.

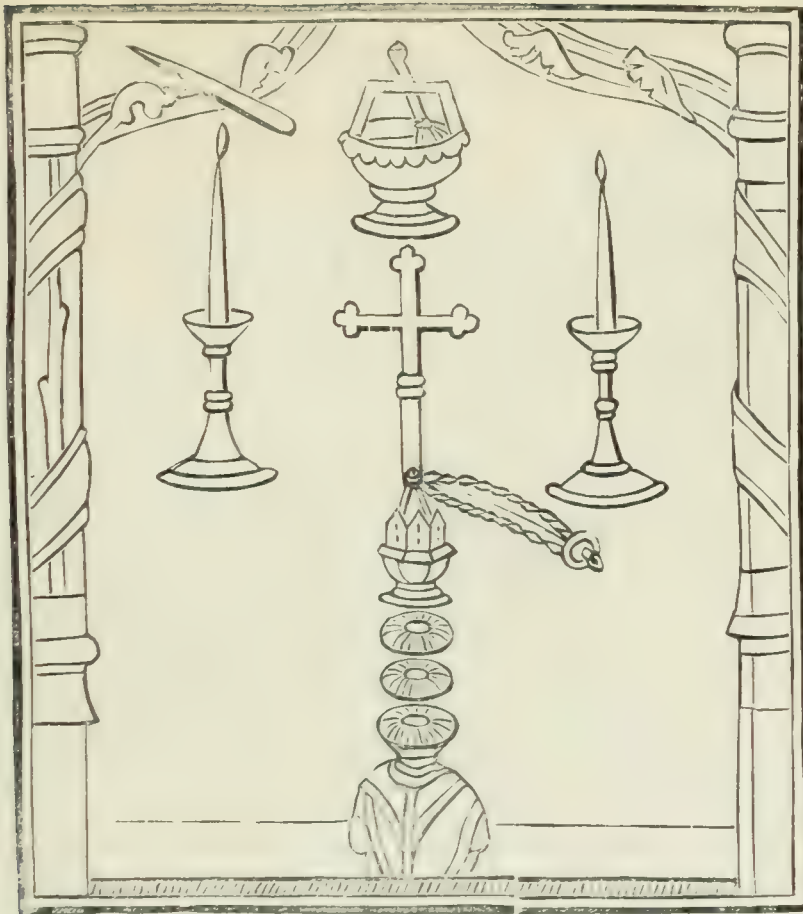
There is a curious passage in the life of St. Theodosius, of the end of the fifth or beginning of the sixth century,⁴ which is rather an instance of magical use or divination, than of a sacrificial use of incense. Theodosius, desiring to learn where he was to build his monastery, took a censer, filled it with coals, but without fire, and sprinkled incense over them : then going forth, he walked about, until the spot where his monastery was to be erected was indicated by the kindling of the coals.

¹ *Ibid.*, 909 : " In quadriporticu atrium in medio discoopertum ; et per medium cancellorum ex uno latere intrant Christiani, ex alio Iudæi, facientes incensa multa ; nam depositio David et Iacob in terra illa, die primo post Natale Domini devotissime ab omnibus celebratur, ita ut ex omni terra Iudæorum conveniat innumerabilis multitudo, incensa ferentes vel luminaria et dantes munera ac servientes ibidem."

² Migne, *Patr. lat.*, lxxij, 1012.

³ Theophylactus Simocatta, *Historiarum* Liber V : cap xiv : Venetijs, 1729 ; p. 232. Evagrius, *Hist. eccl.*, Lib. VI : cap. xxj.

⁴ *Vita Theodosij*, edit. Usener, Leipzig, 1890 ; p. 30.



The procession on Rogation Monday.



The station before the road after Ascension on Saturdays from Trinity to Advent.

Diagrams from the *Sacra Processional*.

CHAPTER V

INCENSE AT EVENSONG, MATTINS, AND LAUDS

We have next to consider the custom of burning incense in a hanging or standing censer, set before some altar, tomb, or image.

The records show that this obtained at Rome at a comparatively early date. The sixth century compiler of *Liber Pontificalis* attributes to Constantine the Great a number of gifts to various churches in Rome. Amongst these are censers. Thus to his new basilica¹ he is represented to have given "two censers (*thymiamateria*) of the purest gold, weighing thirty pounds. A present of spices (*donum aromaticum*) before the altars, every year one hundred and fifty pounds." And for the baptistery "a golden censer with forty-two green gems (*prasinis*) and jacinths, weighing ten pounds." There was also a large candelabrum of gold wherein pure oil of nard burned before the altar. At St. Peter's² we hear of "a censer of purest gold, adorned on all sides with gems to the number of fifty-one, weighing fifteen pounds": and a large quantity of aromatics was supplied from Egypt every year, including seventy pounds of oil of nard, thirty of balsam, seventy of spices (*aromata*), thirty of storax, and one hundred and fifty of stacte. At the church of SS. Marcellinus and Peter³ we hear of an annual benefaction of "ninety pounds of pure oil of nard, a hundred pounds of balsam, and a hundred pounds of spices to burn before the bodies of SS. Marcellinus and Peter."

¹ *Liber pontificalis* edit. L. Duchesne, Paris, 1886; t. j, p. 174

² *Ibid.*, p. 177.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 174, 183.

We cannot, however, regard these statements of *Liber Pontificalis* as absolutely reliable: they must not be taken to mean more than that at the time when the compiler wrote there were a number of gifts in the several churches, which popular tradition credited to the benefaction of Constantine. We have already seen what the sentiments of Constantine and the bishops of his day were with regard to the use of incense. It is hardly probable that Constantine would have offered or that they would have accepted presents of censers and benefactions for the supply of incense. Moreover, the document in which these appear also contains the statement the Constantine gave to his new basilica the font in which he was baptized by St. Sylvester. As a matter of fact, Constantine was baptised by Eusebius of caesarea at Nicomedia and not at Rome at all.¹ The presence of this donation of the font in the list of benefactions shows that in its present form it was drawn up long after the death of Constantine, when the story had grown up about the baptism and healing from leprosy of that emperor at the hands of Sylvester of Rome.

We hear, indeed, in *Liber Pontificalis* of a use of incense under Soter (162-170): but this can only be a throwing back to his period of a similar order recorded in the Life of Boniface I (481-422). These orders are:—

Soter: He ordained that no monk should touch a hallowed pall, nor burn incense in the holy church.²

Boniface: He ordained that no woman or nun should touch a hallowed pall, or wash it, or burn incense in church, except a minister.³

The phrase for burning incense used in both cases is the classical *incensum ponere*.

Liber Pontificalis contains no further records of gifts of censers until the Life of Sixtus III (432-440), wherein it is said that he presented a silver censer, weighing five pounds, to the basilica of St. Mary. After that such gifts become more frequent.

¹ Eusebius Pamphilus, *De vita Constantini*, Lib. IV: capp. lxj, lxij.

² L. Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, Paris, 1886; t. j, p. 135.

³ *Ibid.*, 227.

We shall probably be not very far wrong if we ascribe the Constantinian benefactions to the early part of the fifth century : for as this part of *Liber Pontificalis* dates from the early part of the sixth century, and as there must be allowed some time for tradition to grow up and attribute them to Constantine, a later date is hardly convenient.

Independent testimony of the use of a censer during the fifth century comes from the document known as the *Carta Cornutiana*,¹ of the date 471 : in this list of ornaments appears a *thymiamatorion*.

In the Constantinian lists the censers seem to be associated to the lamps and altars : from which it may be concluded that the censers, like the lamps, hung before the altar. But at SS. Marcellinus and Peter the spices were for burning before the bodies of the patron saints of the church² : that is in a censer hanging before the confession. As time went on censers were hung before the images of saints as well as before their tombs. Sergius (681-701) made a large golden censer, so *Liber Pontificalis* tells us, with columns and a cover, which he hanged before three golden images of blessed Peter the apostle, in which incense and the odour of sweetness might the more sumptuously be offered to Almighty God, during the celebration of solemn mass, on festival days.³ Just a little before, in 666, Graciusus, presbyter of the church of St. Mary at Cremona, gave a charter to that church by which he provided for

¹ "Impendo argentum quoque ad ornatum eiusdem ecclesiae vel celebritatem suprascripti mysterii sacrosancti in his scilicet speciebus, id est patenam argenteam calicem argenteam maiorem j, . . . colum, thymiamatorion, pharum," &c. (J. Mabillon, *De re diplomatica*, Lib. VI : n. j : Luteciae Parisiorum, 1681 : p. 462 ; or Napoli, 1789 : t. j, p. 482).

² "Annis singulis olei nardi pistici libras noningentas, balsami Libras centum, aromata ante corpora sanctorum Marcellini et Petri libras centum" (*Liber Pontificalis*, Edit. Duchesne, j, 174).

³ "Hic fecit tymiamaterium aureum maiorem cum columnis et cooperculo quem suspendit ante imagines tres aureas beati Petri apostoli, in quo incensum et odor suavitatis festis diebus dum missarum solemnias celebrantur omnipotenti Deo opulentiùs mittitur" (*Liber Pontificalis*, j, 374-5).

lights to burn before the tomb of St. Sisinius Bp. M., on that saint's feast day (29 May), and for incense and spices : all to be kindled in honour of the the saint, and in the odour of sweetness.¹ In England archbishop Theodore (668-690) gave similar directions : Let the Lord's incense be burned on the birthday of saints in reverence of the day, since they, like lilies, gave forth an odour of sweetness, and sprinkled the Church of God as the church was originally sprinkled with incense near the altar.² This seems to refer to the censuring of the altar at its consecration.

At the end of the sixth century we have evidence of the same sort of thing in Gaul. In the course of the relation of a miraculous cure of a dumb child at the tomb of St. Martin, St. Gregory of Tours³ says that the girl's mother laid her before the saint's tomb whilst she prayed for a long time ; then taking her up again, and having burnt incense, whilst holding the child over the smoke, asked her if it gave an odour pleasant to her. The child answered that it was pleasant ; and this was the first time that the unhappy mother had ever heard her daughter's voice.

At about the same time St. Gregory the Great,⁴ writing

¹ "In die festo eiusdem sancti Sisinnij episcopi eodem oraculo accendantur cerei, et comburantur thura et aromatha ; et de eisdem aromatibus condiatur corona, et pharum ut accendantur in onorem eiusdem sancti martyris Sisinnij episcopi in odorem suavitatis" (Carlo Troya, *Storia d'Italia del medio evo*, Napoli, 1853 ; vol. iv, parte ij, p. 513).

² "Incensum Domini incendatur in natale Sanctorum pro reverentia diei, quia ipsi sicut lilia dederunt odorem suavitatis et asperserunt aecclesiam dei sicut incensu aspergitur aecclesia primitus iuxta altare (Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, Oxford, 1871 ; iij, 191).

³ *De miraculis S. Martini*, Lib. II : cap. xxxviiij ; Migne, *Pat. lat.*, lxxj, 958 : "quae excitata ad templum sancti cum puellula pergit intrepida ; expositaque ante sepulcrum sancti, cum diutissime orasset, iterum eam secum assumit. Accenso vero thymiamate, cum eam desuper retineret, interrogat eam si bonum ei odorem faceret ? Illa respondit : Bonum." The scene is the tomb of St. Martin at Tours.

⁴ Aloa vero, thimiamata, storacem, et balsamum, sacrorum martyrum corporibus offerenda, latore praesentium deferente, transmissimus (S. Gregorii Magni, *Opera omnia*, Parisiis, 1705 ; t. ij, col. 970).

to Secundinus of Ravenna; says : " We are sending you, by the bearer of these presents, some aloes, frankincense, storax, and balsam, to be offered to the bodies of the holy martyrs." This can only have been for burning in a censer before their tomb.

We have an instance in Hungary, as late as the eleventh century, of this kind of thing. In the church of St. George de Czanad¹ St. Gerard set up an altar in honour of the Mother of our Lord and Saviour, and before it a silver censer : to look after which he appointed two men of advanced age, who should watch these in turn, so that the perfume of incense should not be lacking for one hour.

Gemmulus, a Roman deacon, writes to St. Boniface (c 744) : " We have sent you by the foresaid presbyter some cozumber, to offer as incense to the Lord at morning or evening service, or whilst you celebrate solemn mass, which is of wondrous odour and fragrance."²

Probably this was for burning in a hanging censer, such as is described in St. Ealdhelm's lines on the church built by the lady Bugga, daughter of Centwin, king of Wessex : one hanging from the roof, girded around with small turrets, emitting the fragrant smoke of Sabaeen incense through the window-like openings of its cover, whilst the priests

¹ In qua ecclesia [Sancti Georgii] ad honorem matris Domini Salvatoris venerabilem aram erexit, ante quam turibulum argenteum fixit : cuius ministerio duos provectae aetatis homines adhibuit, qui iugiter ibi vigilarent, quatenus ne ad unam horam odor thymiamatis abesset (*Acta Sanctorum, Bolland.*, 24 September ; vj, 723).

² Epist. 59 : " Transmissimus enim per praedictum presbyterum aliquantum cozumbri, quod incensum Domino offeratis, temporibus matutinis et vespertinis, sive dum missarum celebratis solemnia, miri odoris atque fragrantiae " (Migne, *Patr. lat.*, lxxxix, 755). Compare the dying gifts of the Venerable Bede : " Nona autem hora dixit mihi : quaedum preciosa in mea capsella habeo, id est, piper, oraria, et incensa ; sed curre velociter et presbyteros nostri monasterii adduc ad me, ut et munuscula qualia Deus donavit, illis distribuam " (J. A. Giles, (*Miscellaneous works of the Venerable Bede*, London, 1843 : vol. j, p. clxv).

offered mass.¹ This passage is plagiarised in the description of a church by Æthelwulf of Lindisfarne, at the beginning of the ninth century.²

It was for some such purpose as this that King Alfred, on the same day on which he presented Asser with the two monasteries of Amesbury and Banwell, with all that was in them, gave him also as much incense as a strong man could carry.³ The Canons of King Edgar contain an injunction that "no hallowed thing be neglected, neither holy water, nor salt, nor incense, nor bread, nor anything holy."

Although Gemmulus sent Boniface incense from Rome to use at matins and evensong, about the year 744, we have no records of any similar use in the City itself before the ninth century. *Liber Pontificalis* tells us in the Life of Stephen V (885-891) that as that pope perceived that incense was offered scarcely once at mattins in the basilica of blessed Peter, the chief of the Apostles, where his holy body rested, he ordained that it should be burned at each lesson and respond.⁴ This probably took place at the censer hanging before the confession: there is no

¹ "Hic quoque turibulum capitellis undique cinctum,
Pendet de summo, fumosa foramina pandens:
De quibus ambrosiam spirabunt tura sabaea
Quando sacerdotes missas offerre iubentur." (S. Aldhelmi
Opera quae exstant, Ed. Giles, Oxonii, 1844; p. 117).

² "Omnibus his rutilo capitellis undique cinctum
Turibulum pendet fabricatum cominus auro,
De quibus altithrono spirabant tura tonanti." (*Carmen de
Abbatibus Lindisfarn.*, Migne, *Patr. lat.*, xcviij, 1344).

³ "Et mihi eodem die tradidit illa duo monasteria cum omnibus quae in eis erant et: sericum pallium valde pretiosum, et onus viri fortis de incenso" (W. Camden, *Anglica, Normannica, Hibernica, Cambrica, e veteribus scripta*, Francfurti, 1604; p. 15). The very precious silken pall was, of course, *not* an archiepiscopal pallium; but probably an altar-cloth.

⁴ Verum ut de multis pauca dicamus, cum in basilica beati Petri apostolorum principis ubi sacro ipse corpore requiescit, cerneret nocturnis laudibus vix semel thimiamatis incensum offerri, instituit ut per singulas lectiones et responsoria adoleatur (*Liber Pontificalis*, Ed. Duchesne, ij, 194).

evidence that the altar itself was censed in the later manner. The passage points to the practice having been in vogue before the pontificate of Stephen, but that it was unsystematic. Incense was put in the censer as the service began, perhaps, and not again.

From this practice obviously arose the custom of censuring the altar at mattins, as we find it developed in the later medieval rites. For the censuring at lauds and evensong, however, we must look elsewhere for a source: although, as Gemmulus sent the incense to Boniface for use at evensong as well as mattins and mass, there may have been some similar custom at the evening service to that which obtained at mattins. Stephen V, however, makes no allusion to any service but mattins.

Amalar of Metz,¹ after premising that on Sunday nights it was customary to say the verse: "Let the evening prayer ascend unto thee, O Lord, and let thy mercy come down upon us"; but on other nights: "Let my prayer be set forth in thy sight as incense, and let the lifting up of my hands be an evening sacrifice": goes on to say that "together with this verse [*Let my prayer*] incense is offered which the Lord commanded to be offered, concerning which it is written in the book of Exodus: 'And thou shalt put the altar before the vail that is by the ark of the testimony before the mercy seat that is over the testimony, where I will speak with thee. And Aaron shall burn thereon sweet incense; every morning when he dresseth the lamps, he shall burn it, and when he setteth them up at even, he shall burn a perpetual incense before the Lord,' &c. The high priest, who takes the place of Aaron in the Church, may settle who ought to offer incense to the Lord upon the altar. After this follows the hymn of St. Mary." The meaning of this passage is not clear. We have always to

¹ "Cum ipso versu offertur incensum, quod Dominus praecepit offerri, de quo scriptum est in libro Exodi . . . Intendat summus sacerdos qui vicem tenet Aaron in ecclesia quis debeat incensum offerre Domino super altare. Post hoc sequitur hymnus sanctae Mariae" (*De ecclesiasticis officiis*, Lib. iv: cap. vij; Migne, *Patr. lat.*, cv, 1181).

be on our guard against mere rhetorical and figurative language, such as the writers of this period frequently use. Amalar says nothing about any use of incense at mattins or lauds: nor in a parallel passage in another work, although he mentions the verse *Let my prayer*, does he say anything at all of incense¹

Raban, bishop of Mainz († 856), in a book *de institutione clericorum*, has a chapter on evensong² in which he states that in Old Testament times it was the custom to offer sacrifices and burn spices and incense on the altar in the evening: but says nothing of any contemporary use. Amalar may, therefore, have been only using figurative language; or, on the other hand, he may be alluding to a custom which was merely local, and had not spread so far as Mainz.

That the later suggestion is the more probable may be gathered from the description of the rites of Avranches³ which John, bishop of that see, wrote for Maurilius of Rouen, c. 1030. In treating of evensong he says that, at the beginning of the 'verse', incense is offered on the altar by the priest, as the Lord commanded Moses. At Lauds⁴ he says much the same thing as regards *Benedictus*: and renders it clear that the verse of which he speaks at evensong is not that before the canticle, as Amalar means, but the first verse of *Magnificat* itself. This is made still more evident by the directions for Christmas Day: the altar is to be censed with two thuribles at *Magnificat*,⁵ and at mattins⁶

¹ *De ordine antiphonarum*, cap. vj; Migne, *Patr. lat.*, cv.

² Rabanus Maurus, *De institutione clericorum*, lib. ij: cap. vij; Migne, *Patr. lat.*, cvij, 327-328.

³ "Incipiente versu iuxta quod Dominus praecepit Moysi incensum super altare a sacerdote offertur" (*De officiis ecclesiae*; Migne, *Patr. lat.*, cxlvij, 30).

⁴ *Ibid.*, col. 31.

⁵ "Hymno dicto *Veni redemptor*, antiphona cum trina repetitione super *Magnificat* cantetur; duobus thuribulis altare incensetur" (*Ibid.*, 40).

⁶ "In secundo, quinto et octavo; et ad *Te Deum laudamus*, sed et ad *Benedictus*, altare incensetur" (*Ibid.*, 40). *Cnf.* 41, 54.

the censuring is to be at the second, fifth, and eighth respond, at *Te Deum*, and at *Benedictus*.

By the eleventh century the censuring during divine service had reached practically its full development in Normandy. Our information of what was done in England up to this period is meagre. The *Regularis Concordia* of Aethelwold,¹ drawn up in the tenth century, tells us very little. A brief incidental allusion on Childermas Day is all we have : stating that at mattins, although *Te Deum* was not sung and the gospel not read in a festal manner, nevertheless the taper was lit, all the bells rung, and the censor carried for censuring. But this certainly supposes censuring at mattins on festivals, much as is described by John of Avranches.

In Lanfranc's decrees for the Benedictines of England the censuring at mattins is much the same.² At the third lesson of each nocturn two priests (only one on lesser feasts) cense the high and the morrowmass altars, and then the quire.

At Sarum³ the high altar was censed at the second, fifth, and eighth lessons, by one priest attended by a deacon, and the quire by a boy ; and again at *Te Deum*. On doubles two priests censed the altar, and the quire was censed by two boys. The details of the censuring may be found in the Appendix.

Practically the same was done everywhere in the later middle ages. But on certain days there was some little variation : this too was practically the same everywhere. When a gospel was read at mattins the reader put on a deacon's mass-vestments, and the same pomp was observed as at the liturgical gospel.

¹ "Ad matutinas vero ob rem praedictam, licet *Te Deum* laudamus non canatur, et evangelium minime festivo more legatur, cereus tamen accendatur, et signa pulsentur omnia, et turibulum turificando deportetur" (Clem. Reyner, *Apostolatus Benedictinorum in Anglia*, Duaci, 1626 : Appx., 25).

² Migne, *Patr. lat.*, cl., 473.

³ *Prere, Use of Sarum*, j, 31, 32.

On St. Stephen's Day, according to John of Avranches, the quire was ruled at mattins by two deacons in dalmatics, who together censed the altar at *Te Deum*. And at Hereford, at the memorial of St. Stephen after second-evensong of Christmas, two of the senior deacons censed the altar of St. Stephen.²

At Rome, in the latter part of the thirteenth century, the censuring took place before the *Magnificat* at evensong. The altar was censed, and then the pope and the clergy, during the last psalm,³ after which came the little chapter, separating the psalms from the canticle. At Tours the Eucharist and the tomb of St. Martin, in the collegiate church there, were censed with three swings at evensong, but the altar itself was not censed; and this took place during the psalms.⁴

At lauds the censuring during *Benedictus* was established by the time of Lanfranc's *Decreta* for the Blackmonks of England. We have no information of what was done before his days; but in that document the priest censes the altars at *Benedictus*⁵: on the five great festivals this censuring is to be as in the preceding evensong,⁶ at *Magnificat* for which the full directions are given.⁷ On festivals of

¹ Migne, *Patr. lat.*, cxlvij, 41.

² *The Hereford Breviary*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1904; vol. j, p. 151.

³ *Ordo romanus XIII*, Mabillon, *Museum italicum*, ij, 234, 239. Migne, *Patr. lat.*, lxxviii, 1115, 1120.

⁴ De Moleon, *Voyages Liturgiques*, Paris, 1757; p. 125.

⁵ Clement Reyner, *Apostolatus Benedictinorum in Anglia*, Duaci, 1626; Appx. 213.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 227.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 227: "Antiphona ad *Magnificat* ter dicatur: abbas et prior cappis induti incensent utraque presbyterii altaria, ante, et desuper, utrique simul, singuli singula latera. Parati sint duo alii sacerdotes hebdomadarii, scilicet maioris missae, et minoris, qui thuribula de eorum manibus accipiant, et hinc, et inde, per altaria quae extra sunt circumferant: qui revertentes in chorum abbati prius, priori postea ferant, post eis, qui responsorium cantaverunt, non ambo simul, sed unus hinc et alter inde: dehinc duo conversi in albis, ceteris fratribus. Abbati de libro serviat qui thuribulum de eius manu accepit."

the second rank two priests censed the altars at *Benedictus*, as at *Magnificat*, in the same way as on the highest feasts.¹ On feasts of the third rank only one priest censed, and so on the five chief Sundays.²

Censing at *Magnificat* and *Benedictus* is provided for in all (or almost all) the medieval rites: the altar was censed in much the same fashion as at mass, and was followed by the censing of images, the clergy and choir, and the people.

That the censing at evensong is due to the verse *Dirigatur* is made quite certain by a reference to the Byzantine rite. At vespers³ the censing takes place in connection with the psalm Κύριε ἐκέκραξα (140) in which the verse occurs: *Let my prayer be set forth in thy sight as incense*. Incense is blessed by the priest, and then the deacon censes the sanctuary and the nave. *Magnificat* does not form part of vespers in this rite: but with *Benedictus* makes up the ninth Ode at mattins. At the solemn entrance at vespers the deacon censes the icons⁴: and then, the psalmody having been finished, makes the sign of the cross in the air with the censer, and says in a loud voice: Σοφία ὀρθοί; and immediately the hymn Φῶς ἱλαρόν, *O tranquil light*, is sung while the deacon goes and censes the holy table.

At mattins the censing is in connection with the last Ode, *Magnificat* followed by *Benedictus*⁵: the deacon censes the sanctuary, the icons, choir and nave. Both mattins and vespers are preceded by a censing of the nave,⁶ effected not by the deacon, but by the priest: which at vespers is followed by a censing of the icons and of the holy table. This censing of the nave is similar to that which was done at the commencement of the liturgy: and probably for the same purpose, fumigation or perfuming.

¹ *Ibid.*, 228.

² *Ibid.*, 230, 231.

³ Iac. Goar, Εὐχολογίων sive *Rituale Græcorum*, Lutetiae Parisiorum, 1647: p. 3.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 2, 4.

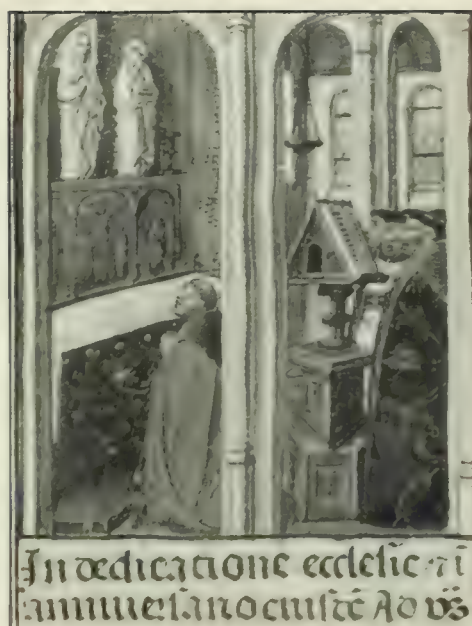
⁵ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 3, 8.

Before passing on from the development of the ceremonial use of incense in divine service, it will be as well to summarise what we have ascertained of its origin. That at even-song doubtless was first suggested by the versicle and response before the canticle *Magnificat*: *Let my prayer be set forth, O Lord, as incense in thy sight.* The censuring at *Benedictus* perhaps was brought in in imitation of that at *Magnificat*: it was the natural complement to it, representing the morning incense of the Old Law, just as the other represented the evening sacrifice of incense. Moreover, the hymn *Benedictus*, being the song of Zacharias in joy at the birth of his son John the Baptist, was associated in men's minds to the appearance of the angel to Zacharias at the time of his offering the incense-sacrifice, to which allusion is frequently made in the various prayers of incense in both Eastern and Western rites.

But the censuring at mattins seems to have its roots elsewhere. In its earliest form, it is, as we have seen, a burning of incense before the bodies of saints: a burning in their honour, to be considered along with all the other features of the *cultus sanctorum* of the early and middle ages. When we look closely into it, as developed in Gaul, at any rate, we see that the offering of incense, and the prayers addressed to the particular saint were for the purpose of extracting some material benefit from his personal intervention. The saint has, in fact, become almost a deity: he receives the incense, he hears the prayer, and then in his benevolence performs a miracle. The glory and honour which are evoked thereby are shared with God, but the miraculous intervention is the personal act of the saint, on his own responsibility: he shares the honour with God, because the power is recognised as in origin that of Almighty God, who is glorified in the good use which his saint has made of the power committed to him. We can see in all this the expression, in Christian terms, of the cultus of the minor deities of the pagan world. But we must note that it is in Christian terms: for the pagan did not ascribe the honour accruing from benefits conferred by his minor deity to the Supreme Being; this minor deity was just as much a god as any other in the Pantheon, and his acts were of his own power.

[To face p. 152.]



The censing of the altar at a choir service.

It is doubtful, however, whether this development spread to Rome; or, indeed, was ever sanctioned by the Church at large. The offering of incense before the bodies of the saints lying in their tombs does not differ very materially from censuring them or carrying incense before them when alive; and the ceremony *need* not bear any unorthodox meaning, however much the uneducated and ignorant pervert its intention; any more than the doctrine of the Invocation of Saints, as expressed in the prayer *oret pro nobis*, or even *ora pro nobis*, need entail such developments as came about in southern Europe. Offerings of incense and burning of lights before images and pictures of our Lord and of his saints were declared to be lawful by the seventh General Council in 787, as was done before the cross, the Gospels'-book, and other sacred things¹: and care was taken to point out that the worship of *latria* as belonging to God alone, was not to be rendered to such things. For a long time this decree was not accepted in northern Europe²: but ultimately it was received there as elsewhere.

At Milan, however, the censuring at the quire services does not seem to have developed from quite the same motives. The language used in the *Ordo* compiled by Beroldus in the twelfth century suggests very strongly that the censuring at the quire services of lauds and evensong was, like the censuring at mass, an offering of incense to God, a sacrifice of incense; combined with a censuring of persons, which was always fumigatory, at any rate at base. In the Ambrosian rite, too, this censuring has no connection with the two gospel canticles, *Benedictus* and *Magnificat*, but occurs at the end of the psalms.

After the beginning of the anthem to the psalm *Laudate* at mattins [Ps. cxlvij, and the two following], the pontiff offers incense on the altar and before it; but in his absence the deacon who intoned the anthem offers incense about the

¹ *Pedalion*, Zakynthos, 1864: p. 317.

² Witness the famous *Libri carolini*, c. 795: Synod of Frankfort, 794, can. 2.

altar but not on it. Then he censes those in quire ; after which one of the lesser hebdomadary wardens goes all round the church giving the odour of incense to everyone.¹

At evensong, at the last psalm, the archbishop offers incense on the altar and before it, and then the deacon censes around the altar, the archbishop, and the quire.²

In this case the phrase which has been rendered "to offer incense" is *adolere incensum*.

In dealing with the Lenten services, Beroldus uses even plainer language. Incense is offered "to the Lord."

Archiepiscopus adolet suavissimum incensum Domino super altare, et ante altare. Et diaconus, qui imponit antiphonam in *Laudate*, sumit thuribulum de manu pontificis, et portat circa altare adolendo incensum Domino, deinde archiepiscopo, postremo circa chorum. Hoc peracto unus duorum minorum custodum ebdomadariorum sumit praefatum thuribulum de manu diaconi et portat illud per totam ecclesiam masculis et foeminis.³

One cannot avoid noticing the levitical character of the phraseology here as it came to them through the Vulgate. Compare for instance Exodus xl, 25 :—

Et adolevit super eo incensum aromatum, sicut iusserat Dominus Moysi.

And Leviticus j, 13 ;

Et oblata omnia adolebit sacerdos super altare in holocaustum et odorem suavissimum Domino.

There can be no doubt that the original intention of the incense offering in the Ambrosian rite at evensong and matins was sacrificial, and a reproduction of the morning and evening incense of the old Law.

¹ Dr. Marcus Magistretti, *Beroldus*, Mediolani, 1894 ; p. 44.

² *Ibid.*, 56. *Cnf.* 64, 191 note 121.

³ *Ibid.*, 85.

CHAPTER VI

PROCESSIONS

In pre-Christian times, lights and incense were looked upon as natural accompaniments of any joyful procession. The advent of Christianity did not, permanently at any rate, change the general feeling of mankind on this matter ; and so it came about that these festive adjuncts were appropriated by Christians in all parts of the then civilized world as being innocent and fitting accompaniments to their rites. It does not appear that there was ever any authoritative adoption of such things. They were at first, so it would seem, introduced or used by the people. Then, as such things became less frequently used in other spheres, the spirit of conservatism tended to retain them for religious use, till finally they received authoritative regulation. Such, for instance, is the history of the eucharistic vestments ; they were originally in the West the ordinary attire, but whilst with the laity the fashions gradually changed, the clergy retained the old type of dress. In course of time the lay-costume differed so markedly from that of the clergy, and the clerical-costume became more and more associated to Divine Worship in men's minds, that their origin was forgotten. The old costume of the clergy became at last reserved entirely for ecclesiastical use, and a new dress began to obtain with them for extra-ecclesiastical purposes. This change was largely if not wholly unconscious.

In a similar manner the use of lights and incense in ecclesiastical processions came into vogue. When St. Cyril of Alexandria¹ announced the decision of the Council to depose Nestorius to the populace of Ephesus in 431, the excited crowd accompanied the orthodox prelates to their

¹ Ep. 24 (al. 20) ; Migne, *Patr. gr.*, lxxvij, 157 : μετὰ λαμπάδων—
ἐν μισματήρῳ κατεχούσας.

lodgings with great demonstrations of joy, lights being set all about the city, torches carried by numbers of the people, and smoking censers borne before them by women. It was the people who carried the torches and incense : these things were the natural expression of their rejoicing and their respect to the bishops.

Agnellus¹ in his life of St. John, the twentieth bishop of Ravenna, states that after Theodoric's victory over Odoacer, John caused the gates of the city to be opened, and went out seeking peace of the conqueror, accompanied by crosses and censers and books of the holy Gospels, and priests and clerks chanting. This victory took place about 493 : but Agnellus wrote in the middle of the eighth century, so that his witness is rather late.

There is at Trier an ivory bas-relief, of the fifth or sixth century.² It represents two bishops, seated in a chariot, carrying something to a church. Before the chariot walk four persons holding large candles : an Emperor and three courtiers or nobles : at the church door an Empress and her attendants await them. In the background is a large palace, with nine windows : out of each of these a man is leaning, swinging a censer. It is not certain what this is intended to portray. Some think that it is a picture of the translation of the Robe of the Blessed Virgin to the chapel of the palace of Blachern, and the sovereigns to be Leo the Great, Emperor of the East (457-474)³, and his wife Verina. Duchesne, on the other hand, takes it to represent the consecration of the church of St. Irene, Galata, in 551 : chiefly on account of the two bishops in the imperial chariot, who on this supposition are carrying relics for the consecration.⁴

¹ *Liber pontificalis seu Vitae pontificum ravennatum*, ap. L. A. Muratori, *Rerum italicarum scriptores*, Mediolani, 1723 ; t. ij, p. 67 : "cum crucibus et turibulis et sanctis Evangeliiis, pacem petans, cum sacerdotibus et clericis psallendo."

² Rohault de Fleury, *La Messe*, Paris, 1887 ; t. v, pl. cdxiv. F. X. Kraus, *Geschichte des christlichen Kunst*, Freiburg im Briesgau, 1896 ; t. j, 501, 525.

³ *The Case for Incense*, London, 1899 ; p. 63.

⁴ L. Duchesne, *Origines du culte chrétien*, Paris, 1898 ; p. 402.

When Sabas (c. 522) went to Anthemus to fit him for his departure from this life, he was accompanied by incense and tapers¹: and when he arrived he found none there save Anthemus, dead. Here the adjuncts seem to have been used by way of giving additional solemnity to the occasion. The account of the visit mentions the incense and lights quite incidentally; not as though there was anything unheard of in the proceeding.

In the year 518 the archdeacon of Tyre,² in the course of a great disturbance in that city, announced that on the Sunday following they would come together with psalmody and tapers and incense to the church of St. Mary, and there offer supplication and the holy synaxis. Lights and incense here appear as an accompaniment to an extra-ordinary or special procession, organised for a particular purpose.

At Naples³ we hear of a procession in honour of SS. Peter and Paul in which crosses and candles were carried, c. 520. Nothing is said of incense.

Heraclius was greeted on his arrival at Jerusalem in 619, after his success in the Persian War, by the Patriarch, Constantine *Imperator* his son, and the populace. The latter carried branches of olive and torches, and censers with incense.⁴ We have again an example of the use of these things, due to the spontaneous feelings of the people, as the natural and unregulated expression of their welcome to the triumphant Emperor. It is comparable with the triumph of a Roman general in the later days of the Republic; and is hardly an ecclesiastical proceeding at all.

¹[N. 43] μετα θυμιαμάτων καὶ κηρῶν (J. B. Coteler, *Monumenta ecclesiae graecae*, Luteciae Parisiorum, 1686; t. iij, 287).

²μετα ψαλμωδιῶν καὶ κηρῶν καὶ θυμιαμάτων ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἁγίῳ ὄντι καταστήσαντες, τὴν λίτην καὶ τὴν ἁγίαν σάναξιν πληρωτῶμεν (Labbe, Cossart and Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum Collectio*, Florence, 1762; t. viij, 1092).

³John the Deacon, *Chronicon (Vita Pomponii episcopi)* ap. L. A. Muratori, *Rerum italicarum scriptores*, Mediolani, 1728; t. j, pars, ij, p. 298.

⁴Incense and censers are mentioned by Eutychius, *Annales*, ap. Migne, *Patr. gr.*, cxj, 1039: branches of olives, and torches by Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ap. *Corpus byzant. script.*, Venetijs, 1729: t. vj, 217.

At one time tapers used in procession were carried on crosses. When St. John Chrysostom¹ instituted processions at night to counteract the influence of those which the Arians were accustomed to use at Constantinople, he had silver crosses, on which lights were set, carried therein, which were provided by the Empress Eudoxia. The custom passed into Gaul. St. Gregory of Tours mentions the lights carried upon crosses and on candlesticks in a procession of a pall from the tomb of St. Remigius², round about Reims. Again, in describing a procession of relics, in the course of the consecration of an oratory, he says that they were accompanied by tapers and crosses all glistening.³

When St. Fulgentius (θ c. 529) returned from his exile he visited his friends, and a great concourse of people gathered together from all parts to welcome him, carrying lamps and torches and branches of trees, and returning thanks to God for the prelate's arrival home again.⁴

In William of Malmesbury's *Life of St. Ealdhelm* it is stated that the saint on his return from Rome, c. 700, was met by large crowds, some of the monks singing sweet melodies, some carrying a relic of the Cross, and others filling the ways with the perfume of incense.⁵

In the later middle ages incense and lights appear as accompaniments of most processions. It is hardly worth while to give examples of a custom so general.

¹ Socrates, *Historia ecclesiastica*, Lib. VI: cap. viij. Sozomen, *Historia ecclesiastica*, Lib. VIII: cap. viij.

² Gregory of Tours, *Liber de gloria confessorum*, cap. lxxix; Migne, *Patr. lat.*, lxxj, 886. *Cnf.* R. le Fleury, *La Messe*, Paris, 1883; t. vj, pl. cdlviij, for a picture of this kind of thing.

³ *Ibid.*, cap. xx; 842: "Regressique ad basilicam, sanctas eius reliquias cum Saturnini Iulianique martyrum, vel etiam beati Illidii exinde solemniter radiantibus cereis crucibusque admovimus." Both crosses and tapers are *radiantes*.

⁴ *Acta S.S.*, *Boll.* 1 January; j, 43.

⁵ Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi *De gestis pontificum Anglorum Libri quinque* (Lib. V: pt. iij), Rolls Series, 1870; p. 373: "Venienti occursum est ubique magna pompa, longo, apparatu salutantium. Religiosorum alii suavi cantu mulcent aera, alii lignum Domini praeferunt, alii odoris thimiamatibus vias affitiunt."

[To face p. 158.]



The Palm Sunday procession in France in the XVIIIth century.



The Corpus Christi procession in France in the XVIIIth century.

CHAPTER VII

THE ORIGINS OF THE CENSING AT THE CONSECRATION OF THE ALTAR

Duchesne has pointed out that the Roman rite of consecrating churches was composed of two distinct parts : the solemn taking possession of the building for the purpose of Christian worship, which is the older portion, and the procession of the relics of the saint which were to be interred in or under the altar.¹ It often happened that the consecration of a new church was associated to the translation of the body of some saint to the same : and by degrees this translation acquired such a prominence, that it came to be looked upon as a necessary part of the consecration rite to have the body of a saint, or failing that, a portion of a body, a piece of cloth soaked in his blood, and even any sort of relic that had any connection with him, formally brought to the new church and interred in or under the altar.² By the middle ages it had become a recognised rule that every altar should have some relics of some sort set in it at the dedication.³ Of course, like all other rules, it had exceptions⁴ : but these do not concern us here.

The Roman rite of dedication was thus of the nature of a triumphant funeral, followed by a solemn mass. The tomb of the saint—the altar, with the confession underneath—is

¹ L. Duchesne, *Origines de culte chrétien*, Paris, 1898 ; pp. 386, 387-393.

² *Ibid.*, 388.

³ But the rubrics and canons so ordering generally contain a saving clause, *si habeantur*.

⁴ See J. Wickham Legg, *Three chapters in recent liturgical research*, Church Historical Society, 1903 ; Tract lxxij, pp. 56 sq.

prepared for him ; he is brought thither, and buried in it. The taking up of the relics from the place where they were, or had been previously placed, was preceded by a litany which was concluded¹ by the bishop's collect, *Aufer a nobis*. The subsequent destination of this Roman prayer is of no little interest to our present enquiry ; but first we must leave the Roman rite and consider the distinctive features of the Gallican.

In the non-Roman Western rite, which is conveniently called the Gallican, we find a service of a character totally different from that which we have been considering. Before the relics are introduced into the church, the building undergoes rites analogous to those by which persons are brought into the Christian fold—baptism and confirmation.² The church and the altar are first sprinkled with water,³ and then anointed with oil and cream. Unction of altars at their consecration is mentioned by Pseudodionysius in the East⁴ at the close of the fifth century ; and in the West the practice is recognised by the councils of Agde⁵ and Epône,⁶ in the early part of the sixth.

There is a tendency to be observed in the Church during the sixth century and thence-forward towards the imitation of many of the Jewish ceremonies and ornaments detailed in Exodus, Leviticus and Numbers ; and towards the adoption of Jewish sacrificial ideas. In the West, these ornaments

¹ L. Duchesne, *Origines du culte chrétien*, Paris, 1898 ; p. 392.

² *Ibid.*, 399.

³ Holy water was used from the first in the dedication rite of the English Church (Bede, *Hist. eccl.*, Lib. I : cap. xxx, a letter from Gregory to Abbot Mellitus. Lib. IV : cap. iv, relating the healing of Earl Puch's wife with holy water which the bishop had blessed for the consecration of the church of South Burton, Yorkshire, c. 686).

⁴ *Eccles. Hierarch.*, Lib. IV : cap. xij. The unction with *μύρον* is performed twice, or thrice (Migne, *Patr. gr.*, iij, 485).

⁵ 37 canon, Agde, 506 : "Altaria placuit non solum unctione chrismatis sed etiam sacerdotali benedictione sacrari."

⁶ 26 canon, Epône, 517 : "Altaria nisi lapidea chrismatis unctione non sacrentur."

[To face p. 160.]



Diagram from the Sarum Processional for Ascension Day.

and ceremonies were derived through the Latin version of the Scriptures, and works like St. Jerome's *de vestimentis sacerdotum*. The movement received considerable impetus from Isidore of Seville's book *de ecclesiasticis officiis* wherein Christian customs are almost invariably derived from some Old Testament practice. His influence was very great; and an estimate of the high value attributed to his opinions may be made from the fact that the Forged Decretals were attributed to him. Dr. Wickham Legg¹ has pointed out numerous ornaments and customs which have originated in, or have been modified by, this movement. For example: the seven-branched candlestick, so frequently met with in the quire in the early middle ages (Exod. xxv, 31 sq.): the fringing of vestments with bells and pomegranates (Exod. xxviii, 33, 34): the twelved-stoned *Rationale* worn by bishops² (*ibid.*, 15 sq): the small four-square altars (Exod. xxvii, 1): the prohibition of steps before the altar, as in Theodore's *Penitientiale*³ (Exod. xx, 26): the continual light in the church (Exod. xxvii, 20): unction at the ordination of presbyters, and the consecration of bishops (Exod. xxviii, 41; xxx, 30; xxix, 7): unction of various *ornamenta*, such as chalices, bells, &c. (Exod. xxx, 22 sq.): the use of a blue tunic by bishops, even when the chasuble was of a different colour (Exod. xxviii, 31): and perhaps, too the tightening of the sleeves of the alb, as compared with those represented in the Roman and Ravennate mosaics, and the use of a girdle to confine it at the waist (Exod. xxviii, 40; xxix, 9).

To this list we must add some at least of the dedication ceremonies observed in the Gallican rite. The use of a

¹ J. W. Legg and St. John Hope, *Canterbury Inventories*, London, 1902; *Introduction*, pp. vii. sq.

² The name itself is taken from the Vulgate: "Rationale quoque iudicii facies opere polymito" &c. In the A. V. it is called "the breastplate of judgment."

³ "Gradus non debemus facere ante altare" (Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, Oxford, 1871; iij, 191). "Non ascendes per gradus ad altare meum" (Exod. xx, 26).

compound cream was suggested, at any rate partly, by the injunction in Exodus xxx, 22 sq. ; which gives directions for the compounding of a holy ointment wherewith the tabernacle and the ark, the table before Yahweh and its vessels, the two other altars, of incense and burnt sacrifice, and everything else used in the cultus were to be anointed. Wine mingled with water¹ represents for Christians the liquid sacrifices of blood² under the old Law, and so is used in the dedication rite in a similar manner to the way in which the Jewish priest used them. Incense also is offered in the Gallican rite, as a sacrifice, imitated from the Jewish practice.

The derivation of these Gallican ceremonies from the levitical will be made more clear when we place the censuring-rubric from the Gelasian sacramentary and the *Missale Francorum* side by side with the Vulgate description of the Jewish rites.

THE VULGATE PASSAGES.

Sumptum que de sanguine vituli, pones super cornua altaris digito tuo. Exod. xxix, 12.

Cumque aspersisset altare septem vicibus, *unxit illud.* Levit. viij, 11.

Reliquum autem *sanguinem* fundes *iuxta* basim *eius.* Exod. xxix, 12.

Et offeres incensum super altare. Exod. xxix, 13. *Conf.* verse 18.

Odorem suavissimum Domino. Levit. j, 13. Exod. xxix, 18.

THE GELASIAN SACRAMENTARY³ AND THE MISSALE FRANCORUM.⁴

Primitus enim ponis super cornua altaris digito tuo *vinum cum aqua mixtum.*

Et asperges altare septem vicibus.

reliquum autem fundes *ad* basem,

et offeres incensum super altare,

odorem suavissimum Domino.

The words common to both are in Roman type ; those particular to both are italicised.

¹ The 42nd Excerptum of Ecgbriht, 740, condemns those "who mingle wine with the water of baptism": a practice which may be compared with this lustration.

² Water was mingled with the blood of the victims, according to the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews (ix, 19).

³ H. A. Wilson, *The Gelasian Sacramentary*, Oxford, 1894 ; p. 133.

⁴ Migne, *Patr. lat.*, lxxij, 328-9.

It will be noticed that the unction with the holy cream, which is mentioned by the councils of Agde and Epaône, and occurs in the later rites just after the censuring, is not ordered by the Gelasian rubric.

We can further illustrate this rubric from other parts of the Hexateuch. The phrase *cornua altaris*, for instance, is distinctly levitical. Thus, in the fourth chapter of Leviticus, we have the following counterparts of different sections of the rubric :—

v. 25 : *Tinget sacerdos digitum in sanguine hostiae pro peccato, tangens cornua altaris holocausti, et reliquum fundens ad basim eius.*

v. 30 : *Tolletque sacerdos de sanguine in digito suo : et tangens cornua altaris holocausti, reliquum fundet ad basim eius.*

v. 34 : *Sume que sacerdos de sanguine eius digito suo, et tangens cornua altaris holocausti, reliquum fundet ad basim eius.*

And in Leviticus ix, 9 :

In quo tingens digitum, tetigit cornua altaris, et fudit residuum ad basim eius.

The sevenfold character of the lustration may be compared with the following :

Levit. iv., 6 : *Cumque intinxerit digitum in sanguine, asperget eo septies coram Domino contra velum sanctuarii.*

17 : *Tincto digito aspergens septies contra velum.*

and see also Lev. xiv, 16, 27, 51 : and xvi, 14, 19.

What remains of the lustral water is poured out at the foot of the altar. This direction is taken almost verbatim from the Vulgate version of Exodus and Leviticus. The rubric ordering the burning of incense is taken verbatim from the same source : but, of course the word *incensum* in Exodus or Leviticus does not bear the same meaning as in the corresponding passage in the Sacramentaries. Still, when once the connotation *incensum* = *tus* or *thymiama* was firmly established in men's minds, such a mistake was easily made. The use of incense in connection with the Pascall arose in this way. The phrase *odor suavissimus Domino* is very common in the Vulgate translation of the Hexateuch. See Leviticus i, 13, 17 : ij, 2 : vj, 15, 21 : viij, 21 ; and Numbers xxvii, 13, 24, 27 ; xxix, 2, 6, 8, 13, 36.

Practically, then, the whole rubric is taken out of the

Vulgate description of levitical ceremonies. It seems to follow from this derivation that the use of incense in this way at the consecration of an altar was regarded, by those who introduced the ceremony, as a sacrifice to Almighty God : and that such was the case at one time is abundantly proven by other facts. However, there is another possibility which may be considered. After the rubric in the Gelasian MSS which we have been so closely investigating there follows a form for consecrating the altar. It is in two parts. The former is called *benedictio altaris*, or more accurately, just before the rubric above mentioned, *praefatio consecrationis altaris* ; and the latter is a benediction-collect, also entitled *benedictio altaris*. The *praefatio* is an address to the congregation of the usual Gallican type¹ ; beginning : “ Dearly beloved brethren, let us beseech the mercy of God the Father Almighty to hallow this altar,” &c. ; and in its final clause asks that He, “ being appeased *by spiritual incense*, may be present with a ready ear to the prayers of his servants.” Taken by itself, this obviously refers to the prayers of Christians, and not to material incense. Therefore it is at least extremely probable that this benediction form was in use before the incense ceremony ; and that the words, *spirituali placatus incenso*, first suggested² the use of incense in the service for the consecration of churches.

The blessing itself appears to have been first brought in at the beginning of the sixth century. The fourteenth canon of the Council of Agde,³ 506, runs : “ It has pleased

¹ H. A. Wilson, *The Gelasian Sacramentary*, Oxford, 1894 ; p. 133. “ Dei Patris omnipotentis misericordiam, dilectissimi fratres, deprecemur ut hoc altare sacrificiis spiritualibus consecrandum, vocis nostrae exorandus officio praesenti benedictione sanctificet ; ut in eo semper oblationes famulorum suorum studio suae devotionis impositas benedicere et sanctificare dignetur ; et spiritali placatus incenso precanti familiae suae promptus exauditor adsistat. Per Dominum.”

² There is a possible allusion to the use of incense at the consecration of the altar in a sermon on that subject by St. Caesarius of Arles : “ in corde odorem suavitatis redoleat cogitatio sancta ” (Ser. 53, § 4 [230 of the Appendix], S. Augustini Hipponensis Episcopi *Opera*, Edit. Benedictin., Antwerpiae, 1700-02 ; t. v, 268).

³ “ Alcaria placuit non solum unctione chrismatis sed etiam sacerdotali benedictione sacrari.”

us that altars be hallowed not only by unction with cream, but also by a sacerdotal [*i.e.*, episcopal] benediction." Whence it would seem that in the southern part of Gaul, at any rate, the altars were previously consecrated merely by anointing, without any specific prayer or blessing. How soon afterwards the use of incense in that rite came in there is no information to show. But it was some time before the year 700, as the Gelasian MSS quoted above witness: and apparently the custom was established in England by the time of Archbishop Theodore (668-690), who ordered incense to be burned on the feastdays of the saints, since they gave forth the odour of sweetness, and sprinkled the Church of God just as the church was originally (*primitus*) sprinkled with incense by the altar.¹ Here the word *primitus* seems to refer to the occasion of the consecration of the altar.

Before going on to treat of the development of the sacrificial use of incense in the Christian Church we will notice some further growth in the ceremonial of the consecration rite. The Gelasian rubric, which we have hitherto been considering, dates from before the year 700, since the earliest MSS in which it is found are of about that date. The ceremonial which it describes is simple: and we know that as regards the unction it is incomplete. But we have no means at present of determining the date of the introduction of the further ceremonies which we are about to enumerate, beyond the fact that they occur in MSS of the end of the eighth and of the ninth century; although this suggests that they were in use much earlier in the eighth.

In these documents, besides the direction for the seven-fold lustration, we have the addition: *vadens in circuitu altaris spargendo*, or some like phrase. There are several instances illustrative of this to be found in the

¹ "Incensum Domini incendatur in natale Sanctorum pro reverentia diei, quia ipsi sicut lilia dederunt odorem suavitatis et asperserunt ecclesiam Dei sicut incensu aspergitur ecclesia primitus iuxta altare." (*Penitentiale*, Lib. II: cap. j: § 9, in Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils, etc.*, ii), 191).

Hexateuch. The blood offerings were often poured out all around the altar. For example :—

Fundesque sanguinem super altare *per circuitum*. Exod. xxix, 20.
Cnf. v. 16.

Offerent . . . sanguinem eius, fundentes *per altaris circuitum*. Levit.
 i, 5. Similarly iij, 2, 8, 13 ; viij, 19 ; ix, 12, 18.

Reliquum fudit super altare *per circuitum*. Levit. viij, 24.

In these later MSS ashes are mingled with the lustral water, as well as salt and wine. This use of ashes was probably suggested by Numbers xix, 17, 18 ; and the use of hyssop as a sprinkler is also mentioned in the same passage. With regard to the admixture of salt, the ritualists of the ninth century¹ quote our Lord's words in St. Mark ix, 49 : "Every sacrifice shall be salted with salt." But the sacrifices which were salted were the meat oblations, and not the blood offerings : nor can the lustral water be rightly described as a sacrifice. Its object is purification. Hence it seems more suitable to seek for an illustration of the practice, if not for its origin, in the account of Elisha's healing of the waters of Jericho in 2 Kings ii, 19 sq. The prophet takes salt, and casts it into the waters, and says : "Thus saith the Lord. I have healed these waters."

Moreover, in this use of lustral water in the dedication rite, it is probable that we have the coalescence of two distinct practices : one, derived from non-Jewish pre-Christian sources, wherein lustral water was used for ceremonial purification and blessing² ; and the other from Jewish

¹ Remigius of Auxerre, *De dedicatione ecclesiae*, ap. Martène, *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus*, Lib II : cap. xij : after ordo xj : Antwerpiae, 1736-38 ; t. ij, col. 775. Migne, *Patr. lat.*, cxxxi, 858.

² E.g., P. Ovidius Naso, *Fasti*, I, 669 ; IV, 735 sq. M. T. Cicero, *De Divinatione*, Lib. I : cap. xlv : § 102. Dion Cassius, Lib. xlvij : cap xxxviii. Aurelius Theodosius Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, Lib. I : cap. xiiij : *Opera*, Lipsiae, 1774 ; p. 272. Theodoretus, *Hist. eccles.*, Lib. III cap. xiv ; Lib V : cap. xxi. Plutarch in his *Life of Sulla* relates how Cataline, having murdered one Marcus Marius, went and washed his blood-stained hands in the lustral water set by the door leading into the temple of Apollo. Sozomen, *Hist. eccl.*, Lib. VI : cap. 6 : lustration at the entrance into a temple in Gaul, said to be Greek fashion. C. Plinius Secundus, *Historia naturalis*, Lib. xv ; cap. xxx.

[To face p. 167.]



The opening of the seventh seal in the Apocalypse (Rev. viii.)

sources, wherein blood (altered by Christian ritualists to wine and water) was, originally at anyrate, a sacrifice; and in primitive times a sacrifice to the divinity inhabiting the stone or altar.

After the incense-offering comes in the later MSS the unction with the compound cream; but in the MSS of the Gelasian type there is no mention of this at all. Still we know that the use of the cream for anointing the altar to be consecrated was established at the commencement of the sixth century, at least in Gaul. Its position in the levitical ceremonial was after the sprinkling, as we have seen in the quotation from Leviticus on p. 162. This was not the order of any of the Gallican dedication rites, but always some use of incense intervenes between.

There is nothing to shew when the custom which we find in the MSS of the end of the eighth and of the ninth centuries, for an assistant priest to cense continuously all round the altar during the unction,¹ first arose. It was, however probably suggested by Rev. viij, 3: an anthem drawn from that text sometimes used to be sung by the choir just before an unction with² the oil of the catechumens, and the censings *in circuitu*. The unction with cream had its prototype, as we have already seen, in Levit. viij, 11: the further use of simple oil, for two anointings before that with the cream, may have been suggested by Gen. xxvii, 18, and xxxv, 14. Anthems drawn thence were sung by the choir during these anointings with oil in the ninth century, if not before.³ However, the Reims MS which Menard used, and which he tells us was finished 31 Caroli Magni, 799, though it mentions the censings *in circuitu*, and the three anointings, has the anthem *Sanctificavit Dominus tabernaculum suum*, instead of *Mane surgens Jacob* (Gen. xxvii, 18).⁴

¹ *Et unguat cum manu suo ipsum lapidem, semper incensum in circuitu ipsius altaris alio sacerdote faciente."*

² *E.g.* Muratori, *Liturgia romana vetus*, Venetijs, 1748: ij, 46, 494.

³ Menard's Gregorian Sacramentary in Migne, *P.L.*, lxxvii, 157. 10th cent. Codex Vaticanus, in Muratori, *Liturg. rom. vet.*, ij, 482.

⁴ S. Gregorius Magnus, *Opera*, Ed. Benedictin., Parisijs, 1705: t. ii, 429: or Migne, *Patr. lat.*, lxxvii, 418.

Even when, as commonly happened in the ninth and following centuries, there were no relics in the shape of entire bodies of saints available for the consecrations of churches, and the ceremony of embalming and burial had become merely symbolical, the idea was still preserved. The relics, whatever they were, still represented the saint¹: the spices used for the embalment were represented by three grains of incense: the sides of the tomb or confession were anointed with the sweet-smelling compound cream²: and in every way the funerary idea was conserved. The relics were brought³ in with lights and crosses and censers: it was a triumphal procession of the saint to his final resting-place.

The Eastern rite of consecration is practically identical with the Gallican. The unction with cream is mentioned by pseudo-Dionysius⁴ at the end of the fifth century; but we have no further details until the end of the eighth century. The Byzantine rite, as given in the Barberini

¹ L. Duchesne, *Origines du culte chrétien*, Paris, 1898; p. 388.

² Antequam [reliquiae] recludantur, ponit chryisma intus in confessione per angulos quattuor in cruce ita dicendo: *In nomine Patris et Filio et Spiritus sancti. Pax tibi. R. Et cum spiritu tuo.* Deinde ponit tres portiones corporis Domini intus in confessione et tres de incenso, et recluduntur reliquiae intus in confessione (*Ordo quomodo in S.R.E. reliquiae conduntur*, ex MS Turicensi saec. IX circ., in Migne *Pat. lat.*, cxxxvii, col. 1020). Similarly in MS bibl. caesar. Vindob. n. 359 saec. X vel. XI. (*Ibid.*, col. 1037); Pontif. Egberti Eborac., *apud* Martène, *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus*, Lib. II: cap. 13: ordo ij; Pontif. Lanalet. (*Ibid.*, ordo iij); MS B. Mariae Remensis (*Ibid.*, ordo v); MS Ratoldi corbeiensis abbatis, saec. X. *apud* S. Gregorii *Opera omnia*, Edit. Benedictin., Parisijs, 1705; t. iij, 430. Gul. Durandus, *Rationale divinorum officiorum*, Lib. I: cap. viij: n. 25; "Reconduntur autem reliquiae sanctorum cum tribus granis turis in capsula." Two *Ordines* in Hittorp, *De divinis catholicae ecclesiae officijs* Parisijs, 1610; 137, 146, The Confession is still anointed with cream in the existing Roman rite.

³ "Cum crucibus et turibulis et candelabris multisque luminaribus," (Edm. Martène, *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus*, Lib. II: cap. xij: ordines ij, iij, vij [representing four MSS] viij, ix, x). Similarly in Hittorp's *Ordo romanus* (? Soissons), col. 122 (Paris, 1610).

⁴ *De eccles. hierarch.*, Lib. IV: cap. xij; Migne, *Patr. gr.*, iij, 485.

MS of that date is as follows.¹ The altar is first baptised with tepid water, the bishop pouring it on the holy table thrice, saying *In the name of Father, etc.* Then the altar is sponged over, and Ps. lxxxiiij (84) *Quam dilecta tabernacula* recited the while. Next the bishop pours wine thrice, crosswise, over it, and Ps. l (51) is said beginning at verse 9. *Thou shalt purge me with hyssop, etc.* : after which it is dried with new linen, and Ps. cxxxj (132) *Memento domine David* is recited. The bishop next anoints the altar thrice, crosswise, with the cream ; *Alleluia* is sung "as at the baptism," and the whole surface is oiled, while Ps. cxxxij (133) is said. Then the bishop washes his hands and the altar is vested : Ps. xcij (93) *Dominus regnavit*, being said the while. After this the archbishop takes the censer and censens the holy table, the sanctuary, and the whole temple, reciting Ps. xlij (43) *Judica me*, once (or more times as may be necessary) as he censens. Meanwhile, one of the assisting bishops anoints the pillars of the church with the cream in the form of a cross. This is all that concerns our subject.

Although the Byzantine and Gallican rites obviously have a common origin, yet there has been some divergency in development. Wine and water are both used ; but separately in the Byzantine rite, and not mixed together as in the Gallican. Incense is used, but in the East not until after the vesting of the altar. The Psalm xlij (43) *Judica me*, is used in both rites, but is more closely associated to the censuring in the Greek rite than in the Latin. In the East, the censuring of the altar is followed by that of the sanctuary and the nave, which was the usual preliminary censuring before the liturgy in the oriental churches at this period. This is found also in the Ratoldus MS of the tenth century, in the West.²

¹ Iac. Goar, *Exodochion sive Rituale Græcorum*, Lutetiae Parisiorum, 1647 ; 844.

² S. Gregorius Magnus, *Opera*, Ed. Benedict., Paris, 1707 ; t. iij, 428 : or Migne, *Patr. lat.*, lxxviiij, 417 : "Et tunc ex incenso boni odoris infumat totam ecclesiam, et stans in medio dicat antiphonam : *Domus mea domus orationis.* *V. Narrabo nomen tuum, cum gloria.*"

It is unfortunate that we have not an earlier stage of this ceremonial, so that we could trace the lustrations to their source. The Barberini MS cannot be conveniently compared in detail with the Gelasian ceremonial, because the stages of development are not the same, and also the dates of the two are separated by at least a whole century.

The Armenian service for the Dedication of a church has recently been published from a MS of the ninth century. When the bishop¹ goes to lay the foundation stones "the clergy walk in front with lighted tapers and the fragrance of incense." Later on, when he comes to bless the altar, outside the church, "tapers are lighted and incense is burned"; and three psalms are sung.² Then after the altar is carried into the church and fixed in its place, "the deacons approach and wash it, first with water and then with wine."³ And they say Psalm xxvj, *Judica me, Domine*, which has the verse: *I will wash my hands in innocency, O Lord, and so will I go to thine altar.* "And thereafter they deterge it with pure detergents. And then the bishop takes the holy myrrh of unction and lays it on the holy altar, saying the psalm, in tone of lament, xxiiij. Anthem: *Thou hast anointed my head with oil.*" After which they anoint the altar, and the altar furniture. Then the bishop and his clergy come down from the bema, and the deacons with the seistrum and the censer, the clerks standing in front with tapers, "cense the wall standing in the middle of the church. And the bishop likewise signs it with the cross, first the south side, and then the north, then the west. And after that the pillars, doorposts," etc. etc. "The children of the clergy shall walk in front with lighted tapers, and after them the deacons with lighted censers, and then the bishop and the carrier of the myrrh, and he that hath the mace. And after them the priests and rest of the congregation. And they shall kiss the places crossed with the myrrh."

¹ F. C. Conybeare and A. J. Maclean, *Rituale Armenorum*, Oxford, 1905; p. 1.

² *Ibid.*, p. 4.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 6. The "myrrh" is the cream or *μύρον* of the Greeks.

After the benedictions and unctions are finished the bishop enters the bema again, and the veil is drawn, and the holy office is begun.¹ First, Psalm xliij, *Judica me, Deus*, with the anthem, *I will go into the altar of God*, followed by five scripture lessons, and two prayers by the bishop: then Psalm xxvij, and the anthem, *That I may behold the fair beauty of the house of the Lord*, followed by two lessons and two more prayers. The latter of these ends:

And as touching the lightings of light and the burnings of incense and sweet smelling perfumes, which they offer to the holy Trinity, mayest thou accept them in praise and exaltation of thy holiness and of the single Lordship of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, now and ever.²

In this rite there is no mention of any offering of incense upon the altar as in the Byzantine and Gallican services. Incense and lights precede the bishop when he comes to lay the foundation stone, and wherever he goes to anoint the different parts of the church. So far they are only the episcopal ensigns. But after the unction of the altar the deacons cense the walls of the nave before the bishop anoints them. Here we have a ceremony akin to the perfuming of the church before the liturgy in the Antiochene and Dionysian rites. A further development is visible in the final prayer quoted above. Both lights and incense are regarded as offerings to God. From what we know of developments elsewhere it would seem clear that this prayer with the ideas which it enshrines was of much later date than the use of the lights and incense with which it deals.

It is curious to notice that the washings with water and with wine—two separate ceremonies, as in the Byzantine rite—are not reserved only for the altar. The font,³ chalices,⁴ and crosses⁵ are all blessed in that way: being

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

² *Ibid.*, p. 10.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 36. Chalices and patens were not anointed afterwards; at least, there is no mention of it.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 39, 46, 53. A sematron or wooden rattle was consecrated with the same ceremonies.

washed, first with water, then with wine, after having been dried, are then anointed with the holy 'myrrh' or cream.

In the Coptic rite of the thirteenth century incense is offered no less than four times. The bishop enters with incense and offers the thanksgiving:¹ then after some psalms and lessons, a prayer and the creed, the bishop stands and offers incense, and says the first Prayer of Incense, in which may be noted the petitions, "cleanse us from filthiness of flesh and spirit," and "dispel the cloud of our sins." After a short litany by the archdeacon,² the bishop, preceded by cross, lights and incense, sprinkles the church.³ Then comes the consecration of the altar. The bishop offers incense for the second time, saying a Prayer of Incense.⁴ More psalms, and a short diaconal litany follow, and the bishop offers incense for the third time, and says another Prayer of Incense.⁵ The bishop then anoints the holy table with crosses of the holy cream,⁶ and says a prayer. Next, after the vesting of the altar,⁷ comes a fourth offering of incense by the bishop and another prayer of incense.⁸

¹ *The Service for the Consecration of a Church and altar according to the Coptic rite*, edited for the Bishop of Salisbury by the Rev. J. Home, London, 1902; p. 1.

² *Ibid.*, 4.

³ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 13.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 17.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 20.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 22.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 23.

CHAPTER VIII

INCENSE AT THE PROCESSIONAL ENTRY AND AT THE GOSPEL PROCESSION

The document which Mabillon has printed as *Ordo romanus primus* is a directory of the ceremonial observed by the pope when celebrating solemn mass in one of the great Roman basilicas. In the shape in which it has come down to us, it dates¹ from about 770 : but a large proportion of the ceremonial and most of the ritual matter is of a much earlier date.

Twice only is incense used, according to this *Ordo*, in the course of solemn mass. The pope is preceded to the altar by a subdeacon carrying a smoking censer, and seven collets each carrying a lighted candle.² Before he left the sacristy, one of the subdeacons had carried solemnly to the altar a *Liber Evangeliorum*, or book of the Gospels, and laid it thereon.³ The second occasion whereon incense is used is in the procession to the ambo to read the liturgical gospel : two lights and a censer are carried before the deacon who carries the book of the Gospels.⁴

¹ *Ordo romanus primus*, De la More Pess, London, 1905 ; p. 7. *Cnf.* the ninth century *Ordo* of Montpellier which may be as early as 758, in P. Battifol, *History of the Roman Breviary*, transl. A. M. Y. Baylay, London, 1898 ; pp. 358, 359 : "procedentibus ante domnum apostolicum septem candelabris cum cereis seu et turibulis cum thymiamatibus."

² *Ibid.*, 122 : "Tunc subdiaconus sequens cum thymiamaterio procedit ante ipsum mittens incensum ; et septem acolythi . . . portantes septem cereostata accensa, praecedunt ante pontificem usque ante altare."

³ *Ibid.*, 124.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 132 : "Et procedunt ante ipsum duo subdiaconi regionarii levantes thymiamaterium de manu subdiaconi sequentis mittentes incensum. Et ante se habent duos acolythos portantes duo cereostata."

We find a parallel to the former ceremonial in that observed by certain high officials under the Roman emperors, when they held their court. These were preceded in similar wise by a *Liber Mandatorum* or book of the imperial mandates, and four lighted candles or torches.¹ On arrival at their seat, the book was set before them on a table, and the lights on either side. No incense was carried before them in the fifth century of our era: but, as we have seen before, there is reason to think that such was once customary, though (so far as its use in civil life was concerned) the use of incense gradually became reserved to the emperor only.

The resemblance is even closer. The Roman basilica was an oblong building, generally with an apse at one end. At this end the floor was considerably raised, and approached from the body of the hall by steps on either side. In the centre of the arc of the apse (when it existed) was the praetor's throne or seat²: on either side of which were a number of seats for the *iudices* or assessors. Before the praetor was a table, covered with a cloth, on which the *Liber Mandatorum* was laid, and on or about which the lights were placed. This raised up portion of the building was known as the *tribunal*. Beneath it was a small dungeon or cellar entered by stairs on each side, and lighted by two small apertures or vent holes.³

The Christian basilica was of the same shape as its civil counterpart. The apse and the seats, the tribunal ascended by steps, were precisely similar. But in the central seat sat the bishop: on either side the seats of the *iudices* were occupied by the priests. Before the bishop, in the chord of the apse, was a table, the altar, on which lay the *Liber Evangeliorum*, or book of the Gospels: about this were set the seven lighted candles. Under the altar on the tribunal

¹ J. G. Graevius, *Thesaurus antiquitatum romanarum*, Trajecti ad Rhenum et Lugd. Batav., 1698; t. vij, 1392, 1397, 1648, 1656, 1791, 1798. See p. 55.

² See Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, s.v. *Basilica*.

³ Thos. H. Dyer, *The Ruins of Pompeii*, London, 1867; p. 64.

was a small cellar or chamber, the confession, in which, not prisoners awaiting trial, but relics of some saint were placed. The costumes of the two sets of persons, civilians and clergy, were just the same, though more subdued in colour and adornment in the latter case.

The parallel is too remarkable and too close for it to be due merely to coincidence. There is a difference in the number of lights, however, which can be explained with the greatest probability as being due to the influence of the Apocalypse of St. John the Divine: a book which the Church of Rome unlike many other Churches held in high esteem from the first. And this brings us to another striking parallel. It is impossible to avoid noticing the likeness between the apocalyptic vision of heavenly worship, and the arrangements at a solemn mass in a Christian basilica. We are told of "a throne¹ set in heaven," and "in the right hand² of him that sat on the throne, a book." "Round about the throne³ were four and twenty seats; and upon the seats four and twenty presbyters sitting, clothed in white raiment." "Before the throne⁴ were seven torches of fire burning": and also there was "a golden altar⁵ before the throne," under which "the souls⁶ of them that were slain for the word of God and for the testimony which they held," were seen. The centre of worship was "the Lamb⁷ as it had been slain." Singing "before the throne⁸ and before the Lamb," was a number of the elect "clothed in white robes".

There can be little doubt that the Vision had considerable influence on the externals of Christian worship, and that the

¹ Rev. iv, 2.

² Rev. v, 1. Compare the frequent early pictures showing a bishop holding a Textus in his hand.

³ Rev. iv, 4.

⁴ Rev. iv, 5: *καὶ ἑπτὰ λαμπάδες πυρὸς καίμεναι ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου.*

⁵ Rev. viij, 3.

⁶ Rev. vj, 9.

⁷ Rev. v, 6, 12.

⁸ Rev. vij, 9: *περιβεβλημένους στολὰς λευκάς.*

arrangements of the basilica lent themselves easily to the same end.

The questions next arise, when did the bishop of Rome adopt these ensigns of dignity, and did he do so of his own initiative, or were they bestowed upon him by the emperor? There does not seem to be any evidence directly bearing on either of these questions: and it must never be forgotten that these and other kindred ceremonies are small matters; that they grew up gradually, so that folk did not mark their start; and that once they had become everyday affairs, in the nature of things we are very unlikely to meet with any account of them (save some incidental notice) except in some document specially drawn up to describe these minutiae, such as *Ordo romanus I*. Unfortunately, that sort of documents belongs to a late period of ceremonial development, and not to the initial stages. All that we can hope for, then, is some casual allusion to the practice in question.

It is possible that the procession with these ensigns was borrowed from or granted by the emperor, at the time when Constantine conferred certain powers upon the bishops as arbitrators. Sozomen¹ says that that emperor allowed litigants to request the bishop's decision in place of that of the civil magistrate; that the judgments of the bishops were confirmed and enforced by the State, and that they were even held in higher esteem than those of other judges. The earliest law known which refers to this power of sitting in arbitration is Cod. Justin., Lib. I: tit. iv: cap. 8, dated 408 A.D.: but in 398 the Jewish patriarchs possessed it, by Cod. Theodos., Lib. II: tit. i: cap. 10, so that it is highly probable that Christian bishops had it at a still earlier date. It seems likely that the bishops at first used these civil ensigns when hearing civil or ecclesiastical arbitration cases only; then, later, at all their public entrances, and finally only at the public mass. Such seems to have been the opinion of the forger of the "Donation of Constantine": who makes that emperor grant the pope, amongst other things, *omnem processionem imperialis culminis*, the whole pro-

¹ Sozomen, *Historia ecclesiastica*, Lib. I: cap. ix.

cession of imperial dignity.¹ The word *processio*, or *processus*, is a technical term for the public appearance of the emperor on state occasions, and the ceremonious appearance of the consul on assuming office.²

But the period which seems more probable for the introduction of this ceremonious entrance by the pope is rather later. In the half century following the Peace of the Church a rapid change took place in the manners and customs of the higher clergy, more particularly in the ranks of the bishops of cities. The simplicity of the days of persecution was no longer to be found at Rome and the larger cities. Ammianus Marcellinus draws a marked contrast between the bishop of Rome and the provincial bishops, who ate and drank sparingly, wore cheap clothes, and were pure-minded and honest men. In the course of a description of the scandalous scenes that attended the election of Damasus to the see of Peter,³ he says :

‘I will not deny, when I consider the ostentation that reigns at Rome, that those who desire such rank and power may be justified in labouring with all possible exertion and vehemence to obtain their wishes since, after that they have succeeded, they will be secure for the future, being enriched by the offerings of matrons, riding in carriages, dressing with splendour, and feasting so luxuriously that their entertainments surpass even royal banquets.’

In similar terms St. Gregory of Nazianzum⁴ censures the luxurious style in which the bishops of the East lived, their soft wide-flowing raiment, their pomp and magnificence, their gorgeous equipages, and showy steeds.

¹ Gratiani *Decreti* pars I: distinct. 96: cap. xiv, *Constantinus imperator*, § 2.

² See Du Cange, *Glossarium*, s. v. PROCESSIO: Processus. This seems to be the explanation of a passage in the Life of Pope Agatho, ‘Tunc interdixit pietas augustalis Georgio patriarchae, ut minime in ecclesia sua susciperet Macarius vel eius homines, interdicens ei processum’ (*Liber Pontificalis*, ed. L. Duchesne, Paris, 1886; vol. ij, p. 352).

³ Ammianus Marcellinus, *Rerum gestarum liber*, Lib. xxvij: cap. iij.

⁴ *Orationes* xx, xxxij: *Opera*, Parisiis, 1630; t. j, pp. 360, 526. See also the quotations in J. C. I. Gieseler, *Textbook of Ecclesiastical History*, transl. by Dr. Cunningham, Philadelphia and London, 1843: vol. 1, pp. 299 sq. St. Jerome's Epistles, xxij § 16; liij: § 9; Migne, *Patr. lat.*, xxi, 404, 533.

One of the results of the Emperors having become Christian was the allowance of προσκύνησις, salutation (*adoratio*) or salaam, to the public images of the emperor. Gregory of Nazianzum does not appear to object to this: but Julian the Apostate tricked Christians by means of it into bowing down to images of the old heathen deities.¹ By a similar trick he deluded many of the less instructed of his Christian soldiery into burning incense before not only the imperial statue, but also to the heathen deities whose images were set beside it.²

These facts betoken a certain change in the attitude of Christendom towards these ancient practices: it had come more or less to regard them as mere civil acts, and not religious.

The first definite information concerning this ceremonial use of incense comes to us, not from Rome, but from Jerusalem. In the second half of the ninth decade of the fourth century, Etheria, a pilgrim of importance, (thought at one time to have been St. Silvia of Aquitaine), visited the holy places of Palestine. We have lost her account of the liturgy, but fortunately the account of the weekly vigil of Sunday, held in the church of the Resurrection at Jerusalem, has been preserved to us. There we read:—

These three psalms having been sung, and three collects said, lo, also, censers are brought into the cave of the Resurrection, so that the whole basilica is filled with odours. And then the bishop takes the gospel-book where he stands within the screen, and approaches the entrance where he reads the account of the Resurrection.³

In this account we note the association of incense and the Gospel-book to the bishop. There is no mention of

¹ Gregory of Nazianzum, Oratio iv (contra Iulianum j) 80, 81; Migne, *Patr. gr.*, xxxv, 605-7.

² Sozomen, *Hist. eccl.*, Lib. v: cap. xvij.

³ S. Silviae Aquitanae, *Peregrinatio ad loca sancta*, edit. J. F. Gamurrini, Romae, 1888; p. 49: "Dictis ergo his tribus psalmis, et factis orationibus tribus, ecce etiam thiamataria inferuntur intro spelunca Anastasis, ut tota basilica Anastasis repleatur odoribus. Et tunc ubi stat episcopus intro cancellos, prendet Evangelium, et accedet ad hostium, et leget resurrectionem dominus episcopus ipse."

any lights carried before him, although we know from St. Jerome that at the reading of the liturgical gospel they were carried in the oriental churches.¹ The incense was, apparently, only an episcopal ensign at this period.

About the year 400 St. Paullinus of Nola describes the wedding of Julian and Ia. They were married by a bishop Aemilius; and Memor, the latter's son and also a bishop, was present and assisted. After a circumstantial description of the preparations of the bride, the scene is transported to the church, and the entry of Aemilius is detailed for us in the following lines.

What is this odour, that, borne through the air, to my nostrils is wafted?
 Whence that unlooked-for light, shewing itself to my eyes?
 Who is he, who afar with gentle steps is approaching,
 Whom Christ's plentiful grace now is accompanying?
 Whom a blessed band surrounds with heavenly disciples,
 Bringing a picture to mind of the angelical host?
 I know the man who's accompanied by those celestial odours,
 And whose face reflects starry and glistening light.
 'This is the man who is rich in the Lord Christ's bountiful present,
 He is Aemilius called, shining with heavenly glow.
 Memor, arise, shew respect to thy father, thy brother embracing,
 In one Aemilius both titles united appear.²

¹ "Nam et absque martyrum reliquiis per totas Orientis ecclesias quando legendum est Evangelium accenduntur luminaria, iam sole rutilante non utique ad fugandas tenebras sed ad signum letitiae demonstrandum" (St. Jerome, *Adversus Vigilantium* [*Multa in orbe*]; Migne, *Patr. lat.*, xxij, 346).

² "Sed quis odor nares allabitur aethere manans?
 Unde meos stringit lux inopina oculos?
 quis procul ille hominum placidis se passibus adfert,
 plurima quem Christi gratia prosequitur?
 quem benedicta cohors superis circumdat alumnis
 angelici referens agminis effigiem?
 nosco virum quem divini comitantur odores,
 et cui sidereum splendet in ore decus.
 hic vir hic est, Domini numeroso munere Christi
 dives, vir superi luminis Aemilius.
 surge, Memor, venerare patrem, complectere fratrem,
 uno utrumque tibi nomen in Aemilio est."

(St. Paullinus nolanus episcopus, Poema xxij, *Epithalamium Iuliani et Iae*, ll 293-301). *Inopina* the ensign of lights may well have been, if, as I suppose, these ensigns belonged only to the *public* appearances of a bishop: the occasion of a marriage was but private.

Paullinus goes on, after much verbal play on the relationship between Memor and Aemilius, and on the name of the former, to tell how the ensign of their episcopal rank (*infula*) unites them by divine honour, while dutiful affection (*pietas*) unites them alike by human love.

It must be at once admitted that these lines of Paullinus' would not by themselves lead to much, if we had no other information bearing on the use of incense in this way; and specially if we had no evidence that incense was used in the Christian Church at this date. But when one reads the *Epithalamium* as a whole, the circumstantial descriptions of the entire business of the wedding, coupled to the rhetorical symbolism which the bishop attaches to everything, compel one to admit the possibility, at any rate, that the incense and lights were, like the other things, actually there, and formed the basis on which he built his poetic fancy.

Towards the middle of the sixth century we have a picture in mosaic at Ravenna which definitely shows the book of the Gospels and a censer as episcopal ensigns.¹ It is on the left side of the altar in the church of St. Vitalis, which church was consecrated in 547. In the centre of the picture we see the emperor Justinian, and Maximianus the twenty-sixth bishop of Ravenna (546-562): the emperor holds a large bowl, the bishop a cross. On the right of the emperor stand nobles and soldiers; on his left, Maximianus and two clerks, one of whom carries a *textus* or Gospel-book, and the other a censer.

At the church of St. Apollinaris in Classe² in the same

¹ Agnellus, in his life of Maximianus, twenty-sixth bishop of Ravenna, says: "Et in tribuna beati Vitalis eiusdem Maximiani effigies atque Augusti et Augustae tessellis valde computatae sunt" (L. A. Muratori, *Rerum italicarum scriptores*, Mediolani, 1723; t. ij, p. 107).

² Agnellus, in his Life of Reparatus 35th bishop of Ravenna, thus describes this mosaic: "Et iussit ut eorum effigies et suam in tribunali cameris beati Apollinaris depingi et variis tessellis decorari, ac subter pedibus eorum binos versus metricos describi continentes ita:

Is igitur socius meritis Reparatus ut esset
Aula novos habitus fecit flagrare per aevum.



Mosaic at St. Vitalis,



city there is a similar picture, of the seventh century. It represents the emperor granting the privileges of the church of Ravenna; on his left is a bishop, behind whom are two other figures, apparently also bishops, and two clerks, the former of whom carries a censer, and the other something else, but what is not quite clear. The mosaic appears to have been set up by Reparatus, thirty-fifth bishop of the see.

We may conclude from the evidence of these pictures that the ceremonious entry of the bishop with incense, as described in *Ordo romanus I* was certainly in vogue in the first half of the sixth century, as an established custom: and therefore that its origin was earlier still. As regards the lights, they do not help us: none are shown, and perhaps none were carried. In *Ordo romanus primus*, when the pope comes to the station church to celebrate solemn mass, he is met at the entrance by the priest of the church and his assistant priest, the sexton (*mansionarius*) and others, who carried a censer in his reverence.¹ Here it would have been just as easy to carry lights in addition, as in the second procession from the vestry: so that it is possible that the oldest use was of incense only, and that the ceremonial reception preserved an archaic feature, lost, or rather overlaid, in the solemn entry for mass.

As regards the use of incense and lights in the Gospel procession, we have indirect evidence that it was certainly in vogue in the seventh century. Mabillon's *Ordo romanus III*, describing the ceremonies of initiation into

Et super caput imperatoris invenies ita:

Constantinus maior Imperator.

Heraclii et Tiberii Imperator.²

Agnellus proudly adds: "Verus pastor pie cum ovibus vixit. Non sub romana se subiugavit sede" (L. A. Muratori, *Rerum italicarum scriptores*, Mediolani, 1723; t. ij, 148).

¹ Dum venerit pontifex prope ecclesiam . . . praestolantur eum . . . presbyter tituli vel ecclesiae ubi statio fuerit . . . cum subdito sibi presbytero et mansionario thymiamaterium deferentibus in obsequium illius^a (*Ordo romanus I*, § 4, De La More Press, London, 1905: p. 122: or, Mabillon, *Museum italicum*, ij, 6).

the catechumenate and baptism, exists in MSS of the early part of the ninth century ; but it is in substance earlier than that.¹ The greater part of it is contained in the Gallicanised Roman sacramentary commonly called the Gelasian,² the earliest MS of which was written in the latter part of the seventh or the beginning of the eighth century (c. 700). In the course of the ceremony then known as "the Opening of the Ears" of the Elect, a passage from each of the four Gospels was read to the catechumens. Four deacons, each with a Gospel-book proceed to the altar, two lights and a censer being carried before them : and they lay their books one on each corner of the altar. Then, later, as each deacon in turn takes his book from the altar and goes to the ambo to read his Gospel, he is preceded by lights and incense.³ In the *Gelasianum* only the first part of these directions appears, that relating to the procession to the ambo being omitted. But at any rate we have here documentary evidence that as early as 700, lights and incense were carried before the reader of the Gospel, at a service not the ordinary mass, in the Western Church : *a fortiori*, that the same ceremonial was observed at the usual solemn mass, and at a still earlier period. Moreover, this ceremonial belongs to the original Roman part of the Gelasianum, and so to an earlier period than the Gallican edition of it.

There is not much to show when lights and incense were first carried in the Gospel procession. But it would seem

¹ "Inde vero procedunt quattuor diacones de sacrario cum quattuor libris Evangeliorum, praecedentibus eos duobus candelabris cum turibulo et incenso et ponunt ipsa Evangelia in quattuor angulos altaris. . . . Tunc accipiens unus diaconus desuper angulo primo altaris sinistro librum Evangelij, praecedentibus ante cum duobus candelabris cum turibulo, ascendit ad legendum" (*Museum italicum*, ij, 80).

² Edited by H. A. Wilson, Oxford, 1894 : Migne's reprint of Muratori's edition in *Patr. lat.*, lxxiv ; 1049 sq.

³ Lib. I : cap. xxxiv : "Primitus enim procedunt de sacrario quattuor diaconi cum quattuor evangeliis, praecedentibus duobus candelabris cum turibulis, et ponuntur super quattuor angulos altaris" (H. A. Wilson, *The Gelasian Sacramentary*, Oxford, 1894 ; p. 50).



Mosaic at St. Apollinaris in



that at first only incense and not lights was carried at Rome. The mass of the night before Easter has retained a number of primitive features in its ritual,¹ such as the non-use of introit, offertory-anthem, *Agnus Dei*, and communion anthem; and the litany before mass terminates directly in the bishop's collect. In this mass it was not the custom, nor is now, to carry lights in the Gospel procession, but only incense.² It would therefore appear that this was a ceremonial archaism which had survived in company with the archaic ritual.

But away from Rome lights were certainly used at an early period. St. Jerome, writing in 406 from Bethlehem³ against Vigilantius, who had attacked the practice then arising of lighting tapers in broad daylight in honour of the relics of martyrs, affirms that "without relics of martyrs, throughout all the churches of the East lights are kindled when the Gospel is to be read, and that with the sun shining: not so as to scatter darkness, but to display

¹ Walafrid Strabo noticed this in the ninth century: "vere credamus priscis temporibus patres sanctos silentio obtulisse vel communicasse quod etiam hactenus in sabbato sanctae Paschae observamus" (*De rebus ecclesiasticis*, cap. xxij: Migne, *Patr.*, lat., cxiv, 948).

² "Non cantant Offertoria nec *Agnus Dei*, nec Communionem. Ante Evangelium non portant lumen in ipsa nocte, sed incensum" (*Museum italicum*, ij, 28, from a 9th c. St. Gallen MS. Similarly p. 36, from the Colbertine and Vatican MSS). "Ante Evangelium autem non portatur lumen, nec etiam in quibusdam ecclesiis candelabra cum luminariis stant ad missam super altare . . . Incensum tamen fertur . . . In quibusdam tamen ecclesiis dicitur ter *Agnus Dei* sine *Dona nobis pacem*" (Durandus, *Rationale*, Lib. VI: cap. lxxxv: nn. 5, 6). Notice how even in the 13th century the Easter Even mass resisted innovations such as lights on the altar, and the *Dona nobis* clause of *Agnus Dei*. De Vert's idea is that lights were not carried at the Gospel of the Easter night mass because the church was so well lit by the numerous lights which it was customary then to have, and of which we have frequent mention from the time of Constantine onwards.

³ *Adversus Vigilantium* (*Multa in orbe*): Migne, *Patr.*, lat., xliij, 346: "Nam et absque martyrum reliquiis per totas Orientis ecclesias quando legendum est evangelium accenduntur luminaria, iam sole rutilante: non utique ad fugandas tenebras sed ad signum laetitiae demonstrandum."

signs of rejoicing." In St. Jerome's days, therefore, the Eastern churches with which he was acquainted—all those in Palestine, at any rate—used to have lights lit at the liturgical gospel. He says nothing of incense; but as it was used when the bishop read the gospel-lesson at the Sunday Vigil at Jerusalem when Etheria visited it c. 385-88, it is possible that incense was likewise used at the Liturgy.

Vigilantius had stated that, under pretext of devotion, a custom had been introduced into the Church, from pagan sources, of lighting an immense number of candles in broad daylight in honour of relics of martyrs.¹ To which St. Jerome² replies: "We light candles, not in broad daylight, as you falsely assert, but in order to temper the darkness of night." Further on he makes the statement about the use of lights at the Gospel, even in broad daylight, in the churches of the East. It seems legitimately to follow from these passages, that in 385, the year in which St. Jerome left Rome, lights were not carried at the liturgical gospel in that city. But in twenty years much may happen, and the period was one of rapid change in ceremonial matters; so that it cannot safely be affirmed that these lights were not used there in 406, when St. Jerome wrote his reply to Vigilantius.

The use of incense and lights in the Gospel procession is doubtless derived from the ceremonial entry of the bishop: it is a procession of his ensigns without himself. The Greek ceremony called "The Little Entrance," which corresponds to the Gospel procession of the Western rites, is really the procession which fetches the bishop from the bottom of the church; he first intervenes in the service at this moment, and the Gospel-book, incense and lights are only his accompaniments. When no bishop is present, the procession takes place without him; and his ensigns are carried as though he were there. It is easy to see that, in course of time, as Little Entrances must of necessity have

¹ Migne, *Patr. lat.*, xxij 342.

² *Ibid.*, 345.

been more common without a bishop than with one, the idea grew up that the lights and incense were in honour of the Gospels'-book. The use of the lights in *signum laetitiae* in the other oriental churches must have considerably helped to confirm this.

The seventh Oecumenical Council, held in 787, decreed that it was lawful to burn incense and lights before images, just as was usually done with the cross, and the Holy Gospels, and other sacred things, according to the pious use of the ancients.¹ We may assume, therefore, that lights and incense were carried before the Gospel-book some time before the date of this Council, seeing that the practice is described as the pious use of the ancients. And from the language used by the Council it seems clear that this was not a local custom only, but the general practice of at least the greater part of Christendom.

But still it is quite possible that the practice had not yet arisen when St. Jerome wrote, and that incense was not used at Jerusalem at the liturgical gospel in Etheria's days. The incense which she saw used may have been only the ensign of the bishop who read the gospel-lesson at the vigil, and not a sign of respect to the evangelical narrative; and the liturgical gospel was not read by the bishop but by a deacon. Further, incense was not a feature of the Gospel procession in the pure Gallican rite either at Paris or Seville: both St. Germain and St. Isidore mention the seven lighted candles, but neither alludes in the remotest way to incense.

The explanation may be that at this liturgical moment only incense was used at first in the Roman church, and in the Gallican and oriental churches lights only. Then as time went on, by mutual borrowing, both groups used lights and incense together, and thus the present usage arose.

At first, no doubt, the use of these ensigns, lights and incense, in the processional entry for solemn mass was restricted to episcopal celebrants; then, after a time, their

¹ ἡ δὲ οὐ τῶν μόνον τῶν πάλαι τῶν ἁγίων καὶ ἁγίων Στράτων, καὶ τοῖς ἁγίοις Ἐπαγγέλοις, καὶ τοῖς ἁγίοις ἁγίοις ἀνθρώποις καὶ θεοῦ καὶ φεῖται προστάτῳ, πρὸς τὴν τοῦτον τὴν πρὸς τὴν καθὼς καὶ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ἐκείνοις ἐκείνοις (Anastasios Hieromonachos and Nikodemos monachos, *Pedalion*, Zakynthos, 1864: p. 317).

deputies assumed the honour when the bishop himself was unable to be present. In the *Ordo* of St. Amand¹ the newly-ordained priests are escorted to their *tituli* by the *mansionarii* or sextons of the same, carrying lights and incense. The next step was for all celebrants, whether episcopal or presbyterial, to use these ensigns at high mass, as is the general practice at the present day in the West.

The custom of carrying lights and incense before the celebrant at mass is most probably derived, as we have seen, from the similiar custom of carrying the same before high authorities of the Roman empire. Their use in this way is ceremonial, liturgical, and not merely fumigatory, although no doubt there may be a certain fumigatory basis to all honorific uses of incense.

There are two interesting examples of the use of lights before civil authorities, besides the tenth century use of incense by the Byzantine emperor,² which we may compare with it. The ensigns of the Doge of Venice have a certain kinship with those of the officials described in the *Notitii Dignitatum* of the fifth century. On certain state occasions³ he had carried before him in procession a *sella*, a cushion, and an umbrella, a lighted wax candle, banners, trumpets and flutes. The privilege of using these royal ensigns is said to have been granted first to the Duke Sebastian Ziani, by Pope Alexander III (1159-1181). If this be true, it is an interesting revival of an ancient custom.

When Richard Coeur de Lion was crowned, on 3rd September, 1189, at the head of the procession came⁴ the clerks with holy water, crosses, tapers, and censers, followed by priors, abbots, and bishops; in the midst of whom

¹ L. Duchesne, *Origines du culte chretien*, Paris, 1898; p. 460.

² See p. 53.

³ J. G. Graevius, *Thesaurus antiquitatum et historiarum Italiae*, Lugduni Batavorum, 1722; t. v, pars iij, p. 363, and plate (to face p. 362).

⁴ Bodl. Laud MS. 582, fol. 52 verso: W. Stubbs, *Chronica magistri Rogeri de Hoveden*, Rolls Series, 1860; vol. iij, p. 9. *Gesta regis Henrici secundi Benedicti abbatis*, Rolls Series, 1867; vol ij, pp. 80, 81,

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Torches carried before the bishop in a XVth century procession.

walked four barons, carrying four lighted tapers, before the King. Then, later on, after his crowning, Richard was led to his throne by the bishops of Durham and Bath preceded by these tapers and the three swords.¹ Clearly the tapers were royal ensigns, and not ecclesiastical : but it is curious that this is the only coronation at which we are told of their use.

The lights carried before Hildefonsus of Toledo on his way to the church to celebrate vigils² may have been honorific ; but, considering the hour, may equally well have been for the mere purpose of giving light, as in the case of the lights carried before Dr. Parker when he was about to be consecrated archbishop of Canterbury.³

¹ Bodl. Laud. MS. 582, fol. 53 : Hoveden, *Edit. cit.*, 11. Benedict, 83.

² "Dum ante horas matutinas solito more ad obsequia Dei peragenda consurgeret, ut vigilias suas Domino consecraret, diaconus vel subdiaconus atque clerus ante eum cum faculis precedentes," etc., (Migne, *Patr., lat.*, xcvi, 47).

³ "Mane circiter quintam aut sextam per occidentalem portam ingreditur sacellum archiepiscopus, toga talari coccinea caputioque indutus, quatuor praecedentibus funalibus," etc., (Ex. reg. eccl. cantuar. apud P. F. Le Courayer, *A dissertation on the validity of the ordinations of the English*, Oxford, 1844 ; p. 332).

CHAPTER IX

DEVELOPMENT OF THE ALTAR'S CENSING AT MASS FROM THAT AT ITS CONSECRATION

LET us return to the dedication of churches. In manuscripts of the ninth century we hear of a further development of the incense ceremonial. While the bishop was engaged in anointing the altar, another priest went round and round the altar censuring continuously. Then, after the walls of the church had been anointed, the bishop returned to the altar and again offered incense upon it.¹ The later sacramentaries vary considerably in the details of the anointing, whether with oil or with the cream only, and in the relative position of the anointings and censings; and also in the number of censings and the anthems sung the while. An *Ordo* printed by Muratori² has, besides the three censings already mentioned, a fourth, by the bishop, in the midst and at the four corners of the altar. Moreover, these sacramentaries vary in the time and the manner of enclosing the relics in the altar. The Gallican custom was to bring them in after the consecration of the church, the Roman at the very beginning of the service. In fact, there was no rite of consecration, strictly speaking, at Rome: the church was

² Incense is offered once only, in Martène *de Anl. eccl. rit.*, Lib. II : cap. xiiij : ordines iij, ix ; and ordo iv (Dunstan's Pontifical) : "faciat signum crucis super altare cum incenso." Twice in ordines ij, v, vj. Thrice altogether in ordines vij (representing four MSS), and xj (Apamie and Constantinople). In the present Roman rite there are five censings of the altar. In Hittorp's longer *Ordo romanus*, the censings *super altare*, and *in circuitu*, are both doubled.

³ L. A. Muratori, *Liturgia romana vetus*, Venetijs, 1748 ; t. ij, p. 46. "Hic ponat incensum in medio et in quattuor angulis altaris et incendatur et dicatur : Dirigatur," etc This censuring is an actual burning of incense upon the altar. See the next note.

[To face p. 188.]



Procession at the Dedication of a Church: the Bishop with cross and censer.

consecrated by the bishop's celebrating a public mass therein. The divergencies of the sacramentaries alluded to above, arose from the various combinations of Roman and Gallican rites made by the Frankish ritualists of the eighth and ninth centuries: and so they introduced confusions and repetitions,¹ which later ritualists complicated still further.

The point which concerns us here is that it has been established that the incense-offering at the consecration of the altar was an act of sacrifice, and was looked upon in that light. This idea, by the middle of the ninth century, had become weakened; symbolical notions began to replace it, and Raban († 856),² and Remigius of Auxerre († 904)³ both explain the incense-offering as signifying prayer. But though the cruder ideas of earlier days were being sublimated into symbolism, the process was slow and gradual. The sacrificial idea persisted in some places until the sixteenth century,⁴ and for the matter of that still has a place in a prayer in the reformed Mozarabic rite⁵; while the

¹ In some of the later rites there is an actual burning of incense on the altar, besides the ordinary censuring, as in Muratori's *Ordo* quoted in the previous note: e.g., the present Roman, and the form in Bainbridge's Pontifical. It is probably due to a misunderstanding of the term *incensum imponere*.

² *De clericorum institutione*, Lib. II: cap. xlv; Migne, *Patr. lat.*, cvij, 359. So Hugo of St. Victor, *Speculum de mysterijs ecclesiae*, Lib. I: cap. ij (12th cent) in Hittorp, *De divinis cath. eod. officiis*, Parisijs, 1610: 1337.

³ *De dedicatione ecclesiae*; Migne, *Patr. lat.*, cxxxj, 859. *Cnf.* Origen, Hom. XIII: "Et superponetur (inquit) super positionem thus mundum. Thus species formam tenet orationum" (*Opera*, Parisijs Joannes Parvus and Jodocus Badius, 1530; fol. lxxxij D). Hugo of St. Victor, *In speculum de mysterijs ecclesiae*, Lib. I: cap. ij: "Hinc pontifex offert super altare thus in modum crucis accensum in medio altaris. . . . Incensum orationes . . . demonstrat" (Hittorp, 1337 E). This is at the Dedication of an Altar. Ivo of Chartres, *De rebus ecclesiasticis*, c. 1090: "Deinde fit incensum quod significat orationes sanctorum" (quoting Rev. v, 8): also at the Dedication of an Altar (Hittorp, 788 D).

⁴ E.g. in the massbooks of Toledo and Seville, and the Mozarabic rite as reformed by Ximenez.

⁵ *Missale mixtum*; Migne, *Patr. lat.*, lxxxv, 529.

benediction *Per intercessionem beati Michaelis* used at the Offertory in the modern Roman rite¹ has a faint reflection of the same in the phrase "vouchsafe to accept it for a sweet savour."

It is a very curious fact that the litany-collect, *Aufer a nobis*, of the Roman rite of bringing relics into the church to be consecrated, and the anthem, *Introibo*, with the psalm, *Iudica me*, sung at the approach to the altar before its hallowing in the Gallican dedication rite, which were brought together into the same service by the Frankish ritualists, should be found so frequently in the preparatory devotions provided in the later Western uses for the priest, about to celebrate mass, to say before the altar.² It suggests very strongly that there is a mimetic connection between the censuring of the altar at mass and its censuring at its consecration.

In many later medieval uses, however, there are several distinct censings of the altar at mass, of all of which one wishes to ascertain the origin so far as one can. They are the following: (1) a censuring on entry, before the mass actually begins; (2) a censuring during *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, as at Wells and Rouen; (3) a censuring, usually by the deacon, of the midst of the altar before the gospel, as at Rouen, Sarum, Hereford, and Le Mans; (4) a censuring after the oblations have been set on the altar.

The efforts of Pepin the Short and Karl the Great during the second half of the eighth century succeeded in abolishing the Gallican liturgy from the Frankish dominions. But that which replaced it was not the Roman liturgy pure and simple, but that liturgy adorned with numerous ceremonies and a good deal of ritual matter quite foreign to the plain and unpretentious rite of Rome. A large number of combinations of Roman and Gallican ceremonial and ritual, each purporting to be the true *Ordo romanus*, came into being;

¹ "Incensum istud dignetur Dominus benedicere, et in odorem suavitatis accipere."

²E.g. Pontif. of Prudentius of Troyes, *ap.* Martène, *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus*, lib. I: cap. iv: art. xij: ordo vj. And in most medieval uses.

shewing great variety and differences between each other. Amalar was very astonished to find, when he paid a visit to Rome, that the document, whereon he had so laboriously commented under the impression that it was the genuine *Ordo romanus*, included many ceremonies which were not known to the Romans themselves.¹ Besides this *Ordo* used by Amalar,² we have for comparison three others, published by Mabillon as *Ordo II*, *Ordo V*, *Ordo VI*. These four all differ from each other in some degree; but there is a close kinship between Amalar's *Ordo*, and Mabillon's *Ordo II*, although they are not identical. As they all occur in MSS of the ninth century, they are at least as early as that period. *Ordo II* is nearest in type to *Ordo I* of Mabillon, a Roman document edited finally³ circ. 770: so that it may be as early as circ. 775 or thereabouts. And the others are possibly as early as 800.

On turning to them for some information concerning the censuring of the altar, we learn from *Ordo VI* that in some places a custom had arisen that, at the beginning of mass, before the celebrant was gone up to the altar, but after the kiss of peace then given, a *minister* should go before the subdeacon, who was carrying the Gospel-book up to the altar, with a thurible, censuring before it *coram illo*; and the subdeacon, having laid the Gospel-book upon the altar, came back again. In other places, however, incense was not brought to the altar before the oblations were laid thereon.⁴ The

¹ Amalarius, *De ecclesiae officiis*, *Praefatio altera*: Migne, *Patr. lat.*, cv, 987.

² Possibly Amalar was acquainted with two *Ordines*. There are some points of difference between that on which he comments in his book *De officiis*, and that which is the subject of his *Ecloga*.

³ See *Ordo romanus primus*, Library of Liturgiology, &c., for English Readers, London, 1905; vol. vj, pp. 6, 7.

⁴ "In quibusdam enim locis usus est et consuetudo ut his finitis minister cum turibulo subdiaconum evangelium portantem antecedit ad altare, coram illo incensum ponens; et subdiaconus desuper evangelium deponens revertatur. In aliis vero non incensum ad altare portatur antequam oblationes altari superponantur" (Mabillon, *Museum italicum*, Luteciae Parisiorum, 1689; t. ij, p. 71.)

passage is not quite clear, as it is not certain whether *coram illo* refers to the altar, the subdeacon, or the Gospel-book : the second is unlikely, the last more probable ; but on the whole, it seems most probable that the reference is to the altar. In the third case the incense would be merely an accompaniment of the Gospel-book as in the procession to the place of reading the liturgical gospel : the two things, being episcopal ensigns, were naturally classed together and associated to each other in men's minds. It is easy, however, to recognise in this custom of taking the censer up to the altar, even if the conjecture that it refers to a censuring be erroneous, a germ which might easily, and as a fact did, develop into an actual censuring of the altar at this liturgical moment. The tendency to duplicate and triplicate the altar's censuring which we have observed in the Consecration service also helped in this development : and it further accounts for the censuring during *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, used in some rites.

The most constant moment in all the uses for the censuring of the altar is after the Offertory. Bearing in mind our presumption that the censuring of the altar at mass is an imitation of its censuring at the consecration, we turn to our four *Ordines* and see what we can gather from them. *Ordo II*, which is nearest in all respects of Mabillon's *Ordo I* (the purely Roman *Ordo*), has this direction for the bishop, which is an addition to those in its mother-document ; *Post oblationem ponitur incensum super altare*, after the Offertory he burns incense over the altar.¹ Amalar refers to this act in his third book *de ecclesiasticis officiis*, giving as usual a mystical reason for it ; *Ex turibulo quod superimponit post orationem, demonstrat per quem ei propitiari possit Deus.*² In his *Eclogue*³, where he also deals with an *Ordo romanus* similar to *Ordo II*, in many respects, there is not any mention of any use of incense at the Offertory. In *Ordo VI* the directions are more elaborate ; after reciting the Gallican

¹ Migne, *Patr. lat.*, lxxvii, 973.

² Migne, *Patr. lat.*, cv., 1130.

³ Migne, *Patr. lat.*, lxxvii, 1375.

[To face p. 192.]



Wall painting found in the lower church of St. Clement, Rome ; of the XIth century (?).

epicletic prayer, *Veni sanctificator*, the bishop turns and *sumat incensum a custode ecclesiae, ponensque in turibulum offerat illud altari, detque archidiacono*.¹ This *Ordo* from the character and stage of development of its rubrical directions, evidently belongs to a somewhat later date than *Ordo II*: the bishop takes some incense from the sexton of the church, puts it in the censer and offers it at the altar; and then gives the censer to the archdeacon, who hands it to the collet.

In all of these cases it is the celebrant himself who offers the incense on the altar, just as the consecrating bishop did at the original dedication. There is no suggestion of any elaborate censuring of the altar, nor the least hint that the oblations were censured. So far, it is an imitation in the simplest way of the incense-offering at the altar's consecration. But in the Mabillon's *Ordo V*, which is taken like the others from a MS of the ninth century, we have different directions altogether; after the gospel the bishop begins the creed, and the collets put out the candles which they were carrying and set them behind the altar. Then follows: *Acolytherum autem gestantium incensoria unus pergat ad altare incensionem exhibere circa illud*: one of those collets who were carrying censers goes to the altar to cense around it. There is nothing of any offering of incense on the altar, as in the *Ordines* which we have hitherto examined; but instead, and apparently while *Credo in unum Deum* was in singing, we have an imitation of the censuring by a minister lesser than the celebrant at the altar's dedication. This tends to confirm our original presumption that the mass-censuring was imitated from the consecration-censuring; we find that some churches copied one, other churches the second of the two types of censuring which obtained in the dedication-ceremonies; and yet others copied and even combined the two.

Ordo II is of this last type.³ But the two censurings took

¹ *Ibid.*, 993.

² *Ibid.*, 987.

³ *Ibid.*, 962.

place at different times. After the gospel, the bishop intoned the mass-creed, and, apparently while it was in singing, censers were carried about the altars, *turibula per altaria portantur*. It is not a very clear direction, but it evidently refers to some censuring around the altars. Then, after the offertory, comes the censuring by the celebrant.

As time went on the mingling of the two types of censuring in one rite prevailed over the other methods: the celebrant offered the incense on the altar, and the gospeller censured round about.

In *Ordo romanus primus*, the only purely Roman directory of the mass ceremonial amongst the *Ordines* printed by Mabillon, incense is only used twice: once in the processional entry of the pope and his ministers, and again in the procession to the ambo for the purpose of reading the liturgical gospel. We have Amalar's emphatic statement in the first quarter of the ninth century to the same effect, that incense was not offered at the altar after the gospel, at Rome.¹ Clearly the incense ceremonial which we have discussed above is not of Roman provenance. The question then arises, did the Franks, when they adopted the Roman rite, and adapted *Ordo I* to their likings, as expressed in *Ordines II, V, VI*, and those of Amalar's, invent the additional ceremonies and ritual, which appear in those documents and elsewhere, at the time of making the compilations? or did they pick out ceremonies and ritual, to which they had become attached already, from their use in the old Gallican rite, and fit them on as best they knew to the rather meagre and plain Roman rite? Surely the former is not very probable, and the latter by far the most likely. So far as ritual goes, it is certain that the latter mode obtained.

Take the Bidding of Prayer. In the old Gallican rite the reading of the diptychs followed on the prayer which corresponds to the secret or *super Oblata* of the Roman rite: and after the sermon had come the diaconal litany or *preces*. When the Franks adopted the Roman rite, these features

¹ "Post evangelium non offerunt incensum ad altare" (*De ecclesiasticis officiis, Praefatio altera*; Migne, *Patr. lat.*, cv, 992).

were missing at the accustomed time, and the recitation of the names within the canon did not suffice them. A new type of prayer springs into existence.¹ The celebrant, and not the deacon, proposes the subjects for prayer (the king, the Church, peace, the sick and the departed) and the people respond with the Lord's Prayer. It is a compromise between the Roman and the Gallican developments of the People's Prayers, between the solemn orisons of Holy Week and the diaconal *preces*. But its position is, practically, that occupied by the old Gallican forms, after the sermon.

Or take the pontifical benedictions. The Roman rite knew nothing of them: but they were a characteristic feature of the Gallican rite,² and they appear in the Romano-Gallican rite of the ninth century. In *Ordo II* it is noted as a peculiarity of the country where it was compiled: *post solutas, ut in his partibus mos est, pontificales benedictiones &c.*

In *Ordo II* at the processional entry for mass is the direction: *Tunc ministri cum thymiamaterio et turibulis non amplius ternis procedunt ante ipsum mittentes incensum.*³ In *Ordo I* the corresponding passage runs: *Tunc subdiaconus sequens cum thymiamaterio praecedit ante ipsum mittens incensum.*⁴ The term *thymiamaterium* is the usual ecclesiastical Roman term for a censer: *turibulum* the Gallican. Here we may note that there is a certain tendency observable in the Gallican churches to employ classical Latin terms for ecclesiastical purposes, as in the use of *turibulum* for a censer, *incensum imponere* for censuring the altar, and so on. In *Ordo II* instead of one *thymiamaterium* only, we have the addition, "and not more than three *turibula*." They are carried, not by the subdeacon-attendant, but by 'ministers.' With this may be compared a passage in the Life of St.

¹ *The People's Prayers*, Alcuin Club, 1906; pp. 15 sq.

² L. Duchesne, *Origines de culte chrétien*, Paris, 1898; p. 212. *Ordo II*, ap. Migne, *Patr. lat.*, lxxviii, 975, note a.

³ Migne, *tom. cit.*, 970.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 941.

Fidelis, bishop of Lerida¹ in Spain (c. 570), which records that the saint was preceded to church on his way to say mass one Sunday, by the deacons carrying censers, as was customary (*ex more turibula gestantibus*). It suggests that there was in some places, a custom of carrying more than one censer in the processional entry of the Gallican rite; and so, that the compiler of *Ordo II* did not invent his additional directions, but was retaining old customs.

The compiler has not done his work very well: he has inserted the direction needed to establish the desired ceremonial, but he has not always made the corrections in the text which his additions have rendered necessary. Thus the description of the gospel-procession is: "Et procedunt ante ipsum duo subdiaconi, *cum duobus turibulis sive uno*, levantes thymiamaterium de manu subdiaconi sequentis, mittentes incensum." The passage in italics is the compiler's addition to the text of *Ordo I*; but it renders unnecessary the words following, which direct the *thymiamaterium* to be taken from the hands of the subdeacon-attendant. The use of more than one censer was not a Roman practice: but there does not seem to be any evidence that incense was carried in the gospel-procession in the Gallican rite; nor, on the other hand, any evidence to the contrary, except at Paris, in the sixth century, and at Seville in the seventh. St. Germain († 576) has left us a minute description of the ceremonial of the Gallican mass. He mentions the lights carried in the gospel-procession, but from first to last there is no word of incense.² St. Isidore of Seville († 636), about half a century later, also mentions the lights, but says nothing of incense.³

¹ "Quoniam igitur dominico die dum in atrium cum multis filijs ecclesiae tenderet, ut mos est, archidiaconus cum clero in albis venientes coram eo astiterunt; moxque ille consurgens, diaconibus ex more turibula gerentibus atque ante eum praecedentibus, cum universis qui aderant, ad ecclesiam perrexit, qualiter Deo adiuvante missarum solemnia celebrarent" (Paulus Emeritanus, *De vita patrum emeritensium*, cap. vj; Migne, *Patr. lat.*, lxxx, 133).

² Migne, *Patr. lat.*, lxxij, 91.

³ Migne, *Patr. lat.*, lxxxiiij, 793.

Isidore's words are partly repeated by Heterius and Beatus in their controversy with Elipandus (c. 783).¹

But although up to c. 576 in Paris, and up to the close of the eighth century in Toledo, it appears that incense was not used at the gospel, there is nothing to show that some time during the seventh century, if not earlier, the practice was not adopted in some of the churches of the Frankish dominions. During this period there was a steady Romanising tendency in those parts: the so-called Gelasian sacramentary, or sacramentary of St. Denis, belongs to the end of it. The MSS in which it has come down to us are of the seventh or eighth century (c. 700). It is clear from this that the Roman practice of carrying incense in the gospel-procession was known in Gaul about the year 700, or perhaps even earlier; so that it is quite possible that the Franks had adopted and developed the same into the carrying of two censers, before the compilation of *Ordo II*.

On the whole then, analogy and probability point to the Franks having adopted the practice of burning incense after the offertory, as well as of censuring around the altars, and of censuring persons, before the Romano-Gallican *Ordo II* came into being.

In Spain the introduction of incense into the worship of the Church was probably later than elsewhere in the West of Continental Europe. Prudentius draws a very strong contrast between the *catholica plebs* and the *grex turifer*, which forbids our thinking that the catholics of Spain at the close of the fourth century had much to do with incense.²

There is no evidence that incense was used in the British

¹ "Precedente evangelium cereorum lumine, in signo gaudii et letitiae" (*Epist. ad Elipandum*, Lib. I: cap. lxvi; Migne, *Patr. lat.*, xcvi, 925).

² "Haec tu si dubitas nati mysteria Christi,
Perdite catholica non es de plebe, sed unus
De grege turifero, venerator Deucalionum
Devotus cippo, ficulni et stipitis unctor."

Aurelius Prudentius Clemens, *Apotheosis*, (*Contra Unionitas, id est, Sabellianos haereticos*), ll. 113 sq.: Migne, *Patr. lat.*, lx, 947 8.

Church before the mission of Augustine ; nor any that the Church of Africa ever had incense.

In the tenth century it was customary at Constantinople for the emperor to cense the altar on various occasions. The emperor and the patriarch enter the sanctuary, and after adoring and lighting tapers, the patriarch hands a censer to the emperor and he censes the cross : the liturgy follows.¹ At another time the emperor and his lords enter the holy well : after some prayers the patriarch censes the lords, who kiss him. Then entering the sanctuary by the holy gates the patriarch hands a censer to the emperor, who censes all round the holy table.² On Good Friday about the second hour the emperor rode to the Great Church (?), lit tapers and prayed before the holy gates of the sanctuary ; then, entering, took a censer and censed it all round, and after vesting the holy table with a new covering, departed to the church of the Holy Sepulchre, where he again lit tapers and prayed, and then entered the sanctuary and censed the altar or holy table all round, and finally returned to the palace on horseback or by boat.³

On the Holy Sabbath, or Easter Even, he followed the patriarch into the sanctuary, received a censer from him, and censed the sanctuary thrice all round. Then he censed the vessels, and afterwards went and sat with the patriarch.⁴

When they visited the palace of Blachern, the emperor entered the basilica and censed about the altar there⁵ : and apparently the emperor did this whenever he paid a formal visit to any church.⁶ On the feast of the Beheading of St. John the Baptist the emperor visited the monastery of the

¹ Constantinus Porphyrogennetus, *De cerimoniis aulae byzantinae*, Lib. I : cap. j : § x : Lipsiae, 1751-54 : t. j, p. 10.

² *Ibid.*, § xxij ; p. 17.

³ *Ibid.*, Lib. I : cap. xxxiv ; p. 105.

⁴ *Ibid.*, cap. xxxv ; p. 107.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Lib. II : cap. xij ; p. 319 : καὶ θυμῶ περιξ τῆς ἁγίας τραπέζης. *Cnf.* cap. x ; p. 316.

⁶ *Ibid.*, cap. xij ; p. 122.

Studium to venerate the saint's relics there.¹ He was conducted into the church by the abbot, who carried a censer, and by other monks with tapers. At the "Entrance of the Liturgy" (the Little Entrance?) the prepositor handed a censer to the emperor, who censed. At the annual commemoration of Constantine the Great, the emperor censed the bema, and the tombs of Leo and his wife Theophania, and of Basil, and lastly of Constantine the Great.²

George Codinus (c. 1325) states that formerly it had been the custom for the emperor at the evensongs of Christmas and Candlemas to enter the sanctuary and cense the holy table: but in his days this had ceased.³

At the coronation, however, the custom lasted longer. Codinus describes the emperor as censing the altar, and then being censed by the patriarch just before he communicates at his coronation.⁴ Another writer of about the same time, John Cantacuzene, ex-emperor, describing the coronation of the younger Andronicus, states that after the elevation, if the emperor is prepared to communicate, the deacons escort him into the sanctuary; and he is given a censer, with which he censes the holy table, turning first to east, then to the north, then to the west and lastly to the south. Then he again censes eastwards, and then the patriarch: the latter salutes the emperor, takes the censer and censes him in return. After which the emperor is communicated.⁵

¹ *Ibid.*, cap. xiv; p. 325.

² *Ibid.*, cap. vj; p. 307.

³ Georgius Codinus Curopalata, *De officiis magnae ecclesiae et aulae constantinopolitanae*, cap. xiv: § xvij: *Corpus byzantinae scriptorum historiae*, Venetijs, 1729; t. xvij, p. 92.

⁴ *Ibid.*, cap. xvij: § xlij; p. 108.

⁵ Joannes Cantacuzenus, *Historiae*, Lib. I: cap. xlj: *Corp. byzant. script. hist.*; t. xv, p. 100.

CHAPTER X

THE FUMIGATORY USE OF INCENSE IN THE EAST

The origins of censuring in the oriental churches seem to have been in general much the same as in the West ; but another source, for which one would naturally look in the East, is the love of fragrant perfumes which has always been one of its marked characteristics.

St. John Chrysostom, in a homily which was probably delivered at Antioch in the ninth decade of the fourth century, gives the earliest allusion to this practice.¹ After a denunciation of the unclean things spoken at each synaxis by the men and women of his congregation, the saint continues :

Wherefore, I entreat you to change this evil custom, that the Church may smell of ointment. But now, though we fill it with incense that can be perceived by the senses, yet do we not take much trouble to purge out the uncleanness of the mind, and drive it away. Where then is the use of it ?

The phrase *θυμιάματα αἰσθητὰ* evidently refers to some actual burning of incense : and from the context we gather that its intent was to fill the building with a pleasant perfume, which the preacher contrasts with the displeasing speech and thoughts of those whom he addresses. There is nothing to show whether the incense was burned in hanging censers or in those carried about : nor is there any clue as to the moment in the service when it occurred. The probabilities, of course, are that it was at the beginning of the liturgy, where we find it in later times.

¹ Νῦν δὲ θυμιάματα μὲν αἰσθητὰ ἀποτιθέμεθα ἐν αὐτῇ, τὴν δὲ νοητὴν ἀκθαρσίαν οὐ πολλὴν ποιοῦμεθα σπουδὴν ὥστε ἐκκαθαίρειν καὶ ἀπελαύνειν. Τί οὖν τὸ ὄφελος; (*In Matth. Hom.* lxxxix (*al.* xc) (cap. xxvij, vers. 45 sq.) § 4; Migne, *Patr. gr.*, lvij, 781).

The third so-called Apostolic Canon mentions incense amongst the things which may be offered at the altar during the liturgy. It concludes :

But let it not be lawful for anything else [*i.e.* except new ears of corn and bunches of grapes in their season] to be offered on the altar save oil for the lamp, and incense, at the time of the holy oblation.¹

The collocation of the oil for the lamp and the incense suggests that they were to be used in a similar manner : that is, that the incense was to be burned in a hanging censer ; but there is no clear evidence to show what was done. The canon cannot be taken to mean that incense was to be offered on the altar at the offertory as in the later rites, burning in a censer : it is parallel to the offering of the first-fruits of corn and grapes. It is possible that the incense so offered was used in perfuming the church at the commencement of the liturgy, as we know was customary later. It may be noted that the canons were compiled somewhere about the year 380 by the pseudo-Ignatius, the compiler of the Apostolic Constitutions ; and he wrote at or in the neighbourhood of Antioch.² Taken in connection with the words of St. John Chrysostom quoted above, it seems to establish the fact that at Antioch, in the last quarter of the fourth century, some sort of censuring of the church was in vogue : but it gives no help towards ascertaining the liturgical moment at which it obtained, nor the mode of its use.

However, about a century later, pseudo-Dionysius³ describes the preliminary censuring for us. The liturgy of his books probably belongs to the Syrian rite, or may be "an outlying type intermediate between the Syrian and the Persian." In this the bishop censures the sanctuary and then the quire ; after which he goes back again to the altar and begins the psalm with the rest.

¹ Agapios hieromonachos and Nikodemos monachus, *Pedalion*, Zakunthos, 1864 : p. 4 : Μη εἶναι δὲ ἕστω προσάγεσθαι τι ἕτερον πρὸς τὸ θεοσυστήριον, ἢ ἕλαιον εἰς τὴν λυχνίαν, καὶ θυμίαμα, τῷ καιρῷ τῆς ἁγίας προσφοράς.

² F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, Oxford, 1896 : j, pp. xxv, xliij ; xxix.

³ Migne, *Patr. gr.*, iij, 452, 456 : *Conf.* 498.

In the sixth century a similar ceremony obtained in the Byzantine rite, to which there is a reference in the Life of St. Eutychius,¹ patriarch of Constantinople : the occasion is the beginning of the ceremonies of Easter-night, and the bishop is represented as censuring the great church at Constantinople, and afterwards performing the solemn baptisms. In the beginning of the ninth century we have more information.² At the prothesis in the Byzantine liturgy of the presanctified the priest read a prayer of incense, and afterwards censed the Holy Table cross-wise : then, during the psalm at the commencement of the mass of the catechumens, he censed the whole sanctuary, with the nave. At the Little Entrance incense accompanies the procession, but the Gospel-book is omitted.³ Presumably the same censuring took place at the ordinary liturgy : the *onus probandi* certainly lies with those who deny it, if there be any.

From Egypt we have the evidence of the Arabic *Didascalia*. At the prothesis the rubric runs : " And the presbyter shall bring the bread and the chalice of the eucharist. And the bishop shall bring the incense, and go round about the altar three times, in honour of the holy Trinity ; and he shall hand the censer to the presbyter, and he shall go round with it to the congregation." After this comes the psalmody, as in the liturgy of the pseudo-Dionysius.⁴

Sanutius,⁵ patriarch of Alexandria in the ninth century, is recorded to have begun the liturgy by going round the altar and its steps with incense.

¹ Migne, *Patr. gr.*, lxxxvj, 2377.

² Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, j, 345-46.

³ *Ibid.*, 346.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 510. The date of this document is undetermined : perhaps sixth cent.

⁵ Eus. Renaudot, *Liturgiarum orientalium collectio*, Francofurti ad Moenum, 1847 ; t. j, p. 183. " Inchoavit liturgiam circumeundo cum incenso altari et gradus eius." Sanutius was patriarch from 879 to 881.

CHAPTER XI

THE FUMIGATORY USE OF INCENSE AND CENSING OF PERSONS

At the close of the fourth century we have seen that incense was burned in the church of Antioch (and probably elsewhere in the East) with the object of perfuming the building, and doing away with any unpleasant odour. In the West there is evidence of the same intention, though not before the ninth century. In a sacramentary of St. Denis, which Martène attributes to the time of Karl the Great,¹ and in the pontifical of Prudentius, bishop of Troyes,² there is a form for blessing incense which has especially in view its deodorant properties.

Hoc incensum ad omnem putorem nocuum exstinguendum, Dominus benedicat, et in odorem suavitatis suae accendat.

May the Lord bless this incense for the removal of every harmful stench, and kindle it for the perfume of its sweetness.

De Vert³ found this benediction also in the missal of the abbey of Essôme of 1547, and in that of Langres of 1517.

That incense could be used as a deodorant is obvious : and on the occasion of the funeral of William the Conqueror it became necessary, although insufficient.⁴ The historian records that the coffin was unfortunately made too small, and that it became needful to double up the body ; which was done so violently that the very swollen abdomen gave way, and an

¹ Edm. Martène, *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus*, Lib. I : cap. iv : art. xij : ordo v : Antwerpiae, 1736-38 ; t. j, col. 525. It is probably later.

² *Ibid.*, ordo vj ; col. 532. Probably later.

³ Claude de Vert, *Explication. . . des cérémonies de l'église*, Paris, 1709-13 ; t. iij, p. 73.

⁴ Odericus Vitalis, *Eccles. Hist.*, Lib. VII, prope finem, *ap.* Du Chesne, *Historiae Normannorum Scriptores Antiqui*, Lutetiae Parisiorum, 1619 ; p. 662. William appears to have died from a neglected strangulated hernia.

intolerable smell overpowered the bystanders and the rest of the people. An abundance of smoke of incense and other aromatics was made, but was not strong enough to put down the terrible stench.

The *Ordo* of Sienna, 1213, states that holy water is cast into the tomb to keep away demons, who would ravage the bodies of the dead ; incense is placed there to show that the departed are benefited by the help of prayers ; and sweet-smelling herbs are put there either to remove the unpleasant odour, or to provoke the benevolence of God.¹

Beleth and Durandus give a different version of the reasons for using incense. The holy water, they say,² is used to keep away demons, agreeing with the Sienna document : but incense is put there to remove the stench of the corpse. They are referring to the custom, observed in some places, of setting in the tomb holy water, and hot coals with incense.

The greatest of the Schoolmen, the Blackfriar, St. Thomas Aquinas, regarded all use of incense as fumigatory. His views of the objects for which we use incense³ are as follows :

“ We do not use incense because of a ceremonial command of the Jewish law, but of ecclesiastical rule : and therefore we do not use it in the same manner as was ordained under the old Law.

There are two objects for its employment :—First, out of reverence for this sacrament [The Holy Eucharist], in order that any disagreeable smell (arising from the number of persons gathered together) in the building, that could cause annoyance, might be dispelled by its fragrancy. Secondly, to symbolise the effect of grace, of which Christ was full, as of a good odour, as it is written :

¹ J. Chrysostomo Trombelli, *Ordo officiorum ecclesiae Senensis*, Bononiae, 1766 ; p. 504. The custom of putting rosemary and other aromatic herbs in or around the coffin still survives in some parts of England, and is still ordered in *Rituale romanum*, in the *Ordo sepeliendi parvulos*. Probably this use of rosemary at funerals gave rise to the symbolic meaning which has attached itself to the herb : “ Rosemary, that’s for remembrance.”

² Gul. Durandus, *Rationale divinorum officiorum*, Lib. VII : cap. xxxv : n. 28. Ioh. Beleth, *Divinorum officiorum explicatio*, cap. clxj.

³ St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, III : qu. 83 : v, ad ij^m.

Behold the odour of my Son is as of a plentiful field which the Lord hath blessed ; which is conveyed to the faithful by means of his ministers, as it is written : He maketh manifest the savour of his knowledge by us in every place ; and so, after the altar (by which Christ is symbolised) has been censured, all those present are censured in order."

The angelic Doctor is followed by almost every ritualist of importance since. A learned monk of the Charterhouse¹ gives in 1504 as the reasons for using incense :—

- j. Reverence of the sacrament ; in order, to wit, that by the perfume of incense every evil smell, that causes disgust, may be dispelled.
- ij. Driving away of devilish malignant creatures ; lest, to wit, the Evil One should devise anything against the sacrifice of the celebrant. For by this kind of smoke all demons are put to flight.
- iiij. To signify the devotion and prayer of the celebrant and the assistant's which by them is directed to God.
- iiij. To represent the effect of grace : wherewith Christ is full, as of a good odour.

Dominic Soto,² after quoting St. Thomas Aquinas almost verbatim, goes on to give a third reason for the use of incense. Referring to the Apocalypse, he states that the ascent of the smoke also signifies the ascent of the prayers of the saints to God. But he gives the angelic Doctor's fumigatory reason first of all.

Suarez³ also adopts St. Thomas's ideas ; taking fumigation as the basis of the Christian usage of incense.

¹ Arti. iiij. ¶ Rationem ac significationem secundi principalis quod circa missam agitur declarat. j Sacramenti reuerentiam. vt scilicet per thuris odorem expellatur omnis malus fetor horrorem prouocans. ij. Diabolice malignantis repulsam ne scilicet ille malignus contra sacrificium vel celebrantem aliquid machinari possit. huiusmodi enim fumo omnia demonia fugantur. iiij. Deuotionem et orationem celebrantis ac assistentium significandam que per ipsos ad deum dirigitur. iiij. Effectum gratie representandum. qua sicut bono odore christus plenus fuit (*Resolutorium dubiorum circa celebrationem missarum occurrentium*, per venerabilem dominum Joannem de lapide doctorem theologium parisiensem ordinis Cartusiensis, Impressum Colonie, In domo Quentell. Anno Domini M. ccccc. iiij ; fol. 23).

² Fr. D. Soto, *In quartum Sententiarum Commentarium*, Dist. XIII; qu. ij : art. 5 : ad ij^{um} : Salmanticae, 1569 ; t. j, p. 586.

³ Fr. Suarez, *Opera ; Commentarium ac disputationem in iiij^{am} partem Divi Thomae*, Disput. lxxxiv : sect. j. ult. loc. : Moguntiae, 1619 ; t. viij, p. 1053.

Gavanti and Merati hold (or, at any rate, used to hold) a very high position as Roman ritualists, and hence the opinion which Gavanti gave concerning the reasons for the use of incense, and which is repeated in Merati's edition of Gavanti's *Thesaurus*, is of considerable weight.¹ It is not, of course, an official statement of the Roman Church, but it might almost be termed semi-official. Commenting on the words *Incensat altare*, he says :—

The censuring is performed to represent the glory of God, who appeared in a cloud ; also in reverence of the place, so that the bad smell arising from a crowd of people might be driven away from it (citing Bellarmine, *De miss.* Lib. II : cap. xv) ; also to represent the good odour of Christ (from St. Germanus in *Theoria*) ; also that prayer should be directed to God (from Ps. 140 ; St. Thomas, *Summa Theologica*, pars iij : qu. 83 : art. 5) : and lastly also to drive away demons (citing Innocent III, Lib. ij : cap. xvij).

Dom Claude de Vert² also cites Bellarmine, Archbishop Genebrard of Aachen, Scortia, Meurier, Theraize, and others, as teaching that one reason for using incense in churches is in order to put down unpleasant smells. He points out how frequently this idea is present in the older rubrics. He shows how the phrase "he offers the odour of incense to" is used where more modern writers would say "he censes" : and further points out that, in the form for blessing palm on Palmsunday in an ancient Verdun pontifical the rubric directing the censuring runs : *rami infumantur*, the boughs are smoked ; and in an old Salzburg Sacramentary : *rami purificantur*, the boughs are purified.³ This idea of sweetening the thing or the place censed, he points out further, explains the custom of censuring cupboards, the *piscina* or lavatory, and the like. He states that it was customary at a very early period of

¹ Barth. Gavanti, *Thesaurus sacrorum rituum*, edit. Caj. M. Merati, Venetijs, 1788 ; t. j, p. 215 (pars ii : tit. iv : rubrica 4 : nota (b) *Incensat altare*). Similarly Quarti (Venetijs, 1727 ; p. 2).

² Claude de Vert, *Explication des cérémonies de l'église*, Paris, 1709-13 ; t. j, p. xvij : *cnf.* t. ij, 426, t. iij, 72, 73.

³ *Ibid.*, t. iv, p. 53. See p. 56 for the use of incense during the washing of a corpse preparatory to burial

[To face p. 207.]



The burial of Ferdinand King of Arragon, XVth century showing standing censers or chafing-dishes, set about the herse.

Christianity to use incense to purify places and put down unpleasant odours, just as Tertullian, who knew nothing of any ritual use of incense, was accustomed to burn Arabian gums to do away with any smell that annoyed him. And he seems to think that the practice was usual when Christians met in caves and underground places and cemeteries apt to give out offensive exhalations: and that incense was introduced into the Church towards the fourth century. How far the evidence available at the present day sustains his theories, readers of this present essay may judge for themselves. In the main, it will, I think, be admitted that he was singularly correct: but on a few points he has been in error, as, for instance, in thinking that the purely fumigatory use of incense was the earliest in the West.

The use of incense at funerals is, apart from the funeral procession, and the censuring common to masses of *Requiem* and high mass, to a large extent based on the same principle. De Vert¹ says that at Amiens, at a canons' funeral, the corpse was censed and perfumed continually during the Psalms for Vigils of the Departed, by four choir-boys: and, according to De Moleon,² an ancient *Rituale* of St. Martin at Tours, directs chafing dishes full of fire, on which incense was put, were set all round the bier of a deceased canon, to drive away the unpleasant smell. At the mass of *Requiem eternam* in the Sarum rite the deacon censed the corpse after the altar's censuring at the Office; again before the gospel, and for the third time after the priest had censed the oblations at the offertory.³ At the end of mass the corpse was censed by the celebrant. At a pope's funeral, according to a document printed by Martène,⁴ four bishops simultaneously cense the altar thrice, at short intervals, during the service, *nisi loci ineptitudo vel nimia populi frequentia hoc impediatur*, unless it

¹ De Vert, *Explication*, t. iv, p. 56.

² *Voyages liturgiques*, 134.

³ *Missale Sarum*, 861.

⁴ Martène, *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus*, Lib. III: cap. xv: ordo xix: t. iii. 1144-45.

should be prevented by the unsuitable arrangements of the building, or by too large a crowd of people; and the corpse was censed by them after each altar's censing, four times altogether; but if the censing of the altar could not be managed, only the corpse was censed. This shows that the censing of the body was considered the more important: and a little personal experience of funerals in the poor parishes in this country, will, if the weather be warm, soon explain the reason why.

It appears to be hopeless to try to trace the custom of censing the choir and people before the time of *Ordo romanus II*: there is no evidence or allusion to be found. So far as we are concerned, the practice suddenly comes into view in this document, which belongs to the end of the eighth century; and the directions for its performance are as follows¹: "After the gospel has been read the candles are put out, in their own place; and *Credo in unum Deum* is sung by the bishop, and censers are carried to the altars; and afterwards they are borne to the nostrils of persons, and the smoke is drawn up to the mouth by the hand." The proceeding is frankly fumigatory: the censer is brought to the person, and he draws the smoke up to his face with a wave of the hand. This ceremony is amongst the Gallican additions to the original Roman *Ordo*: it was not known then at Rome.

The two other gallicanised *Ordines romani*, V and VI of Mabillon's collection, give somewhat different directions. In the former,² while the bishop sings the mass-creed the

¹ Post lectum evangelium candelae in loco suo exstinguuntur, et ab episcopo *Credo in unum Deum* cantatur, et turibula per altaria portantur, et postea ad nares hominum feruntur et per manum fumus ad os trahitur (Mabillon, *Museum italicum*, t. ij, p. 46).

² Acolytorum autem gestantium incensoria unus pergat ad altare incensionem exhibere circa illud, necnon et episcopo ac presbyteris atque diaconibus cunctoque clero: alius vero pergat ad populum. Stet autem paratus iuxta pulpitem subdiaconus qui lectionem legerat: ut dum perlectum fuerit evangelium accipiat a diacono evangelia, et exhibeat ea ad deosculandum episcopo; quibus osculatis exhibeatur ei et incensorium (*Museum italicum*, ij, 67).

candles are extinguished by the collets and set behind the altar : and then one of those who were carrying censers goes to the altar and censes around it, and afterwards offers incense to the bishop and presbyters and deacons, and the whole of the clergy ; and another collet goes to the people to cense them. The bishop kisses the *Textus*, or book of the Gospels, before he is censed. In the sixth *Ordo*¹ the bishop alone is censed after the gospel : but the phrase used, "having accepted the perfume of incense" appears to be quite as purely fumigatory in idea as the directions of *Ordo II*. At St. John in Monte, Bologna, in the early twelfth century, the deacon "gives the incense to the priest to smell" : which is equally a fumigation.²

From these passages it may be concluded that, at anyrate in the West, the censuring of persons in service-time was in origin a fumigatory use : its purpose was to refresh those in the church with a pleasant perfume. And it is further to be noted that, in the earliest document in which the practice is enjoined, the censuring of persons is quite distinct from the kissing of the *Textus* : but at a later period the two ceremonies were frequently made synchronous. It may be pointed out that this perfuming took place at a point about halfway through the service : the atmosphere had had time to become close and stuffy.

Dom Claude de Vert³ points out that this fumigatory

¹ Quo cum pervenerit, episcopus accepto odore incensi et evangelio deosculato, ad praedicationem per manus presbyteri et archidiaconi perducendus est (*Museum italicum* ij, 73).

² After the altar's censuring, the priest *reddat thuribulum diacono ; ille recipiens, osculata manu sacerdotis, det ei incensum odorare, et humiliter planetam in anteriore parte deorsum trahat* (Moroni, *Dizionario di erudizione Storico-Ecclesiastica*, Venice, 1845 ; p. 116, s. v. INCENSIERE).

³ Claude de Vert, *Explications . . . des cérémonies de l'église*, Paris, 1709-1713 ; t. iv, p. 53. Cnf. *Ordo Senensis*, ed. Trombelli, Bononiae, 1766 ; p. 445 : "Demum Sacerdos reddit thuribulum Diacono, et Diaconus in recipiendo manum eius osculans, dat sibi incensum odorare ;" p. 458 : "Acolythus post evangelium praebet ei solum incensum. Si tamen episcopus in choro fuerit ; semper lecto evangelio acolythi portant ad eum et fumum thuris odorandum, et librum

notion appears in MSS later than *Ordo II*; and quotes, from one of the Abbey of St. Martial at Limoges, the rubric : *defert incensorium ad odorem episcopi*, and from the *Ordinarium* of Monte Cassino : *odorem praebeat sacerdoti*. In both these cases the censuring is as obviously fumigatory as in the Bologna instance quoted above.

So much for its origins in the West. In the Egyptian Liturgy of the Arabic *Didascalia*,¹ after the bishop has thrice gone round the altar with incense, he hands the censer to the presbyter, who goes round the congregation with the same. This takes place before the reading of the lections. It appears to be a development of the censuring of the sanctuary and nave, as it is described in the Dionysian² Writings; but to be based upon the same idea, viz., that of perfuming the church and all therein before the service proper.

The book which Constantine Porphyrogenetus wrote in the tenth century on the Ceremonies of the Byzantine Court gives some evidence of the censuring of persons. On certain occasions it behoved the lords of the court to worship God with lighted tapers, after which they kissed the Textus and the Cross, and were censured by a deacon.³ In the Liturgy after the Great Entrance, the archdeacon censured the lords, and then the patriarch, and after that the Holy Table.⁴ On the second day of the first week in Lent, and on various other occasions, the lords were censured by the patriarch,⁵ at the preliminary service.

evangelii osculandum;" p. 462: "Subdiaconus sumens thuribulum porrigit illud odorandum Diacono." Martène, *De antiquis ecclesiae (monachorum) ritibus*, Lib. II: cap. iv: § 1: n. vij; "et tunc primum praebeat odorem Diacono," at Monte Cassino.

¹ F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, Oxford, 1896; vol. j, p. 510. The date appears to be quite undetermined.

² See p. 201.

³ Constantinus Porphyrogenetus, *De cerimonijs aulae byzantinae*, Lib. I: cap. i: § 11, and § 22; cnf. xix: § 2; cap. xx: Lipsiae, 1751-4; t. j, pp. 10, 17, 69, 71.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Lib. I: cap. i: § xj; p. 10.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Lib. II: cap. x; t. ij, p. 316.



Parts of the Procession from Westminster Hall to Westminster Abbey
at the Coronation of James II.

[By permission of Mr. Henry Frowde]

In these cases the censuring appears to have lost any original fumigatory purpose, supposing it ever to have had any such : it is honorific, comparable with the burning of incense before the emperors, and the carrying of the same in the processional entry to mass.

But whatever the origins may have been, censuring of persons soon developed into a mere ceremony, both in East and West : and probably they who used it in the later middle ages had no clear notions why it was done, although many explanations were put forth from time to time.

And here we may observe that the distinction between censuring before anybody or anything, as for example in a procession, and censuring the same person or thing, is not very defined nor easily definable : in practice the one may pass insensibly into the other. You carry a smoking censer before anyone to honour him by perfuming the way along which he is going to pass : if he stands still and you endeavour to create the same honorific atmosphere about him by advancing a smoking censer before him, you, technically, cense him. But the only difference is that, in the former case you create a fragrant atmosphere for him to walk into, and in the latter you endeavour to make the same fragrant atmosphere move towards him. The same holds good as regards things. In the Lyons massbook of 1825 the thurifer is described as *continue incensans viam evangelii*, on the way to the place where the liturgical gospel is to be read : but the Ceremonial of 1838 speaks of the thurifer censuring the Text all the way. The difference between censuring the path along which the Text or gospels'-book is carried, and censuring the Text itself is of the slightest. At the primatial church of Sens, according to the massbook of 1785, the *via evangelii*, and not the book, is what is censed : but when the gospel has to be sung in the sanctuary for lack of a loft (*propter angustiam loci*), the Deacon censes the *locum evangelii*, that is, he censes the place where the book is lying before him, and the thurifer does not cense on the way to the place of reading.

CHAPTER XII

CENSING IN THE WESTERN RITES AT MASS DEVELOPMENTS

Taking the documents of the ninth century or the end of the eighth as a starting point, we will next describe the developments of the incense ceremonial in the service called the Liturgy in the East, and the Mass in the West. For clearness it will be best to take the West first, and to enter into the particulars of the development at each liturgical moment separately.

The first of these is, of course, the ceremonious entry of the celebrant and his assistants, from the vestry into the church, and up to the altar. At Rome, as *Ordo romanus primus* tells us, the pope was preceded by one of the subdeacons (termed *subdiaconus sequens*) carrying a golden censer smoking with incense, before whom the seven collets of the district carried seven lighted candles.¹ On reaching the quire the collets divided, four passing to the right, and three to the left, to let the pope pass through them to the head of the quire, where he knelt in prayer for a while. No further directions are given for lights or incense until the time for reading the liturgical gospel.

For further developments we have to go to Gaul. The documents are three Romano-gallican *Ordines*, the second, fifth and sixth of Mabillon's collection; and the two expositions of the mass given by Amalar of Metz, in his books *De officiis*, and *Ecloga* respectively. The *Ordines* are printed from a MS of the ninth century, and Amalar wrote c. 825. *Ordo II* is a gallicanised recension of *Ordo I*: but the altera-

¹Tunc subdiaconus sequens cum thymiamaterio procedit ante ipsum mittens incensum; et septem acolythi illius regionis cuius dies fuerit, portantes septem cereostata accensa, praecedunt ante pontificem usque ante altare (*Ordo I*, n. 8: Mabillon, *Museum italicum*, 8).



Dat tweede artikel der missen es

The Entrance of the Ministers.



Dat seuenste artikel der missen es

The Reading of the Gospel.

Incense at the introit and gospel in Holland in the
XVIth century.

tions have not been made systematically. The directions for making ready the lights and incense are practically identical ; but when the procession is ready to set forth from the vestry, differences begin to appear. The bishop, supported by two presbyters, is preceded by seven deacons : before them the ministers with the censers, who are in their turn preceded by seven collets carrying seven lights. Instead of one golden censer, this *Ordo* prescribes that they shall go *cum thymiamaterio et turibulis non amplius ternis*¹ : with a "censer" and not more than three "thuribles." Probably there were not more than three censers altogether : and the *cum thymiamaterio* is merely the Roman term of *Ordo I*, which should have been erased when the Gallican thuribles were inserted by the later editor. There is no evidence of any difference between the Roman *thymiamaterium* and the Gallican *turibulum*, at this period. The *textus*, or book of the Gospels, which in *Ordo I* had been carried to the altar before the pope entered, is here carried in after the censers, next to the bishop.² At the Kyries the collets set their lights down : and here it is noted that a divergency of ceremonial has begun to develop. In some places they were arranged four on one side, and three on the other : but others preferred that they should be set in a line from south to north.

Ordo V shows that ceremonial differences, consequent on the admixture of gallicanisms into the original *Ordo* obtained from Rome, were making further headway. The minister who carries the censer is definitely only a collet, and not a subdeacon : and there are to be two, carrying two censers, which are termed *turibula*.³ Instead of coming after the lights, as in *Ordo I*, the censers come first ; followed by either seven, or five, or three collets carrying candles, the number being dependent on the number of the deacons and subdeacons. On arriving at the quire the

¹ *Museum italicum*, ij, 43.

² Post turibula portatur Evangelium propius episcopo.

³ Praecedentibus videlicet cum turibulis duobus acolythis (*Mus. ital.* ij, 65).

collets wait until the bishop intones *Gloria in excelsis Deo*; and then set down their lights, and put away or hang up their censers.

By the time *Ordo VI* was drawn up, local ceremonial variations were still more abundant: or perhaps it would be more accurate to say that more are recorded in this document, which occurs in the same MS as the preceding.¹ Only one censer is carried in the processional entry, but there are seven lights. However, *apud quosdam*, so the *Ordo* says, two collets with lights and one with a censer headed the procession.² Of the order of precedence the document does not speak clearly. After the bishop's private prayers and confession it was the custom in some places for the minister who carried the censer to go before the subdeacon who was carrying the text up to the altar, *coram illo incensum ponens*, where *illo* may refer to the altar, the text or the subdeacon, as we have already seen.³ If it is not a censuring before the altar, as is quite possible, yet there is no difficulty in perceiving the germ of the subsequent development. The document goes on to say that in other places incense was never carried to the altar until after the oblations had been set thereon.

Amalar describes in both of his books an *Ordo* closely akin to *Ordo II* of Mabillon's collection: in both cases incense and lights are carried in the procession to the altar, but there is no censuring of the altar. In the *Eclogue*⁴ he agrees with *Ordo II* in having not more than three censers:

¹ Notice the frequent repetition of *apud quosdam* and the numerous variants mentioned. The *Ordo* was drawn up for some monastic house: there are several references to *fratres*.

² *Museum italicum*, ij, 71.

³ In quibusdam enim locis usus est et consuetudo ut his finitis minister cum turibulo subdiaconum Evangelium portantem antecedit ad altare coram illo incensum ponens; et subdiaconus desuper Evangelium deponens revertatur. In aliis vero non incensum ad altare portatur antequam oblationes altari superponantur (*Mus. ital.*, ij, 71). Strictly speaking, *illo* should not refer to *altare*, but to a more distant word: but the compiler of *Ordo VI* was not tied down by strict rules.

⁴ *Museum italicum*, ij, 550.

but the number of lights is to be determined by the number of deacons. In both books he recognises the custom of having seven, five, or three deacons: in *De officiis* he further mentions that there may be only one.

In quite a large number of churches the use of incense at the beginning of mass never underwent any further development.

At Corbie, according to the MS sacramentary of abbot Ratoldus († 986) the procession was headed by two or more collets with candles and censers.¹ Pseudo-Alcuin,² a writer of the eleventh century, mentions the censer carried in before the celebrant.

At Laon, c. 1200, incense was carried in the processional entry, but no censuring of the altar is mentioned.³ Lights were carried also in the thirteenth century. In 1662 incense and two lights were carried, but still there was no censuring of the altar⁴: nor is any ordered in the rubrics of the massbook of 1773.

At Soissons, in the time of bishop Nivelon (1252-1263), one candle and one censer were carried⁵ in the procession: the altar was not censured, nor was it according to the massbook of 1745. At this latter date, on simple feasts, and ferias out of Eastertide, only one taper and no censer was carried: on Sundays, and on feasts higher than simples up to minor doubles, one taper and one censer; on feasts higher than minor doubles, two tapers, and one or two censers.

At Lincoln⁶ two censers were in the procession to the

¹ Qui etiam stipatus sit duobus acolythis aut pluribus cum candelabris et turibulis (S. Gregorius, *Opera omnia*, Parisijs, 1705; t. iij, col. 243).

² *De divinis officiis liber*, ap. Hittorp, *De divinis catholicae ecclesiae officijs*, Parisijs, 1610; col. 276 c.

³ U. Chevalier, *Ordinaires de l'église cathédrale de Laon*, Paris, 1897; p. 13.

⁴ *Ritus ecclesiae laudunensis redivivi*, Parisijs, 1662; p. 48.

⁵ *Rituale seu Mandatum insignis ecclesiae suessionensis*, Suessione et Parisijs, 1856; p. 171.

⁶ Chr. Wordsworth & H. Bradshaw, *Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral*, Cambridge, 1892; pt. j, p. 376.

altar, at the end of the fourteenth century : nothing is said of any lights, and any censuring of the altar seems excluded.

The Blackfriars in the thirteenth century¹ used lights but not incense in the solemn entry for mass : and the altar was not censured. They have not yet adopted the practice.

At Avranches, c. 1030, the same is recorded² : a light and incense are carried in, but there is no censuring of the altar.

Le Brun³ mentions that according to an ancient missal of Narbonne the altar was only censured at the offertory, and observes that the same practice obtained at Metz, in the eighteenth century. Le Brun Des Marettes (De Moleon) says that at the cathedral church of St. Gatien, Tours, the altar was not censured at all, but only after the offertory there was a censuring *super oblata*, that is over the host and chalice.⁴

At Liège in 1769, Le Mans in 1789, and Moulins in 1821, the altar was not censured at the beginning of mass, though lights and incense were carried in the processional entry.

In a number of other churches, the altar was only censured on great feasts. Thus at Evreux in 1740 the altar was censured on minor-solemn feasts and those higher in rank : on ferias and simple feasts there was only one taperer and no censer ; at the Lady-mass on Saturdays, two taperers, and on semidoubles and higher feasts a censer as well. At Lisieux in 1752 the altar was censured on major-annuals only (in the later Roman fashion), and on these days there were two taperers and two censers : but on ferias there was no censer. At Coutances in 1778 the altar was only censured on solemn feasts, and the same took place at Luçon in 1828.

At Hereford they always carried two lights before the

¹ J. Wickham Legg, *Tracts on the Mass*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1904 ; p. 74.

² Migne, *Patr. lat.*, cxlvij, 32.

³ Pierre Le Brun, *Explication . . . de la Messe*, Paris, 1777 ; t. j, p. 148.

⁴ De Moleon, *Voyages Liturgiques*, Paris, 1757 ; p. 116.

[To face p. 217.]



Clerk handing a censer to bishop at the altar,
XIIIth century.

celebrant at the high altar¹: incense was carried in processions,² but whether in the processional entry for high mass, does not appear. Nor is there any information concerning the censuring of the altar at this moment.

We now come to another group of churches in which incense was carried in the procession to the altar, and then the altar was censed. The commencement of the practice can be traced to *Ordo VI*: and in the mass published from a MS of Cardinal Chisi's of the end of the tenth century the procession consists of two lights carried by collets, a collet with incense, the subdeacon carrying the Text, the deacon, and last of all the priest.³ After the preliminary devotions the subdeacon goes up to the altar and lays the Text (which has been used for the kiss of peace before mass) on the left corner of the altar. Then, so soon as *Kyrie eleison* is begun by the quire, the collets set their lights down, and the deacon takes the censer and offers it to the priest. He then censes the altar (*faciat incensum super altare*), and gives the censer back to the deacon, who censes all round the altar (*faciat incensum circum altare*); on coming back he censes the priest, and hands the censer to the collet.

The ceremonial described by the author of *Gemma Animae* (usually reputed to be Honorius of Autun, a writer in the early part of the twelfth century) is of a more elaborate character, and closer in many respects to that of the Gallican *Ordines*. There enter for mass first seven collets with lights, then seven subdeacons, then seven deacons, next twelve priors; after them three collets carrying censers, then some one carrying the Text, and last,

¹ Chr. Wordsworth & H. Bradshaw, *Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral*, Cambridge, 1892-97; pt. ii, p. 64: "Notandum quod tam in festis quam in feriis portantur ij cerei accensi coram sacerdote ad maius altare, qui semper durante missa debent ardere, et reportari similiter coram eodem reuertente."

² *Ibid.*, 83: "Item provident Succentor quod habeat v pueros . . . qui . . . cruces, candelabra, turribula in Processionibus portant."

³ Edm. Martene, *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus*, Lib. I: cap. iv: art. xij: ordo xij: Antuerpiae, 1736-38; t. j, coll. 569, 570.

the bishop supported by two persons.¹ It is interesting to notice the close collocation of the incense and Text with the bishop. Then, while the quire apparently sings *Kyrie eleison* the bishop censes the altar, in representation of the angel in the Apocalypse. There is no censuring *in circuitu altaris* by the deacon.

In the Ambrosian rite of the twelfth century² the archbishop enters with his deacons, preceded by the subdeacons carrying a censer and lighted candles. On ferials neither lights nor incense are carried.³ Then before the confession the subdeacons cense before the altar *in modum crucis*. But on certain days, namely, Christmas, Epiphany, Sunday at the head of Quadragesima, Easter, Pentecost, and the anniversary of the dedication, a much larger number of clergy accompany the archbishop, and the censuring before the altar is performed by deacons instead of the subdeacons.⁴

By the twelfth century this development had reached Rome. In Mabillon's *Ordo XI*, written c. 1130, the pope censes the altar at the introit⁵: and a similar direction appears in the *Ceremoniale*⁶ drawn up at the bidding of pope Gregory X (1271—1276). In *Ordo XIV* further development in a Gallican direction is met⁷: the pope censes first in the midst, then the right half and next the left, of the surface of the altar; finally censuring the front, passing from the left to the right side of it. The deacon then takes the censer, censes the pope, and afterwards all round the altar. In the *Ordo* of Peter Amelius,⁸ of the end of the fourteenth century, the same directions occur: but the custom of the

¹ *Gemma animae*, cap. ij, *ap.* Ioh. Cochleus, *Speculum missae*, Venetijs, 1572; fol. 116.

² Marcus Magistretti, *Bevoldus*, Mediolani, 1894; p. 48. *Cnf.* *Ordo VI*, quoted on p. 214.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, 49.

⁵ *Museum italicum*, ij, 126-7: or Migne, *Patr. lat.*, lxxviii, 1032.

⁶ *Mus. ital.*, 227: or Migne, 1109.

⁷ *Mus. ital.*, 265, *cnf.* 296: or Migne, 1135, *cnf.* 1159.

⁸ *Mus. ital.*, 459: or Migne, 1285.

deacon's censings *in circuitu altaris* seems to have gone out when the missal of 1474 was printed.¹ The elaborate censings of the modern Roman rite was established by the end of the fifteenth century, and the directions of the books in present day use have no material difference from those given by Marcellus² in 1516, and by Paris di Grassi³ in 1564. The swings are disposed at the present time as follows: three to the cross, one towards each of the six candles, three on either side along the surface of the altar, two at each end, and six along the front, making twenty-nine in all.⁴

Sicardus of Cremona, c. 1140, in describing the entry for mass, states that a collet with incense goes first, and the candlesticks follow.⁵ During *Kyrie eleison* the priest censes the altar, figuring the angel of the Apocalypse. There seem to have been considerable variations in the mode of censings, for each of which he gives mystic reasons. The priest censes *in modum crucis et coronae*, making the sign of the cross with the censer, and then a circle; but Sicardus goes on: *si semel turificat . . . si semel coronat . . . si vero iter . . .*, which seems to mean that some priests just swung the censer once, others made one circle, and yet others three.

The use at Sienna⁶ in 1213 was very similar. During the introit and Kyries, incense being put into the censer, the priest makes the sign of the cross over it, takes the censer and censes the altar, first in front, then above *in*

¹ Robert Lippe, *Missale romanum*, Mediolani, 1474, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1899; vol. j, p. 198.

² Chr. Marcellus, *Rituum ecclesiasticorum sive sacrarum ceremoniarum SS. R.E. libri tres*, Coloniae Agrippinae, 1557; fol. 298. This book was really written by Aug. Patr. Piccolomini in 1488 (Mabillon, *Mus. ital.*, ij, 584 sq.).

³ Paris di Grassi, *De caeremoniis cardinalium et episcoporum in eorum diocesis libri duo*, Venetiis, 1582; fol. 38 verso sq.

⁴ *Missale romanum ex decreto SS. concilii tridentini restitutum et S. Pii V Pont. Max. iussu editum, Ritus celebrandi missam*, IV, 4.

⁵ Sicardus of Cremona, *Mitræ*, Lib. III: cap ij; Migne, *Patr. lat.*, cexij, 93, 96.

⁶ T. Chrysostomo Trombelli, *Ordo officiorum ecclesiae senensis ab Oderico eiusdem ecclesiae canonico, anno MCCXIII compositus*, Bononiae 1766; p. 445.

modum crucis et coronae, as at Cremona: after which the deacon censens the priest, and then goes around the altar censuring it.

At Sarum¹ the celebrant was preceded by lights and incense: on going up to the altar, after saying the prayer *Aufer a nobis* and kissing the altar, he blessed the incense which the deacon had put into the censer, and then censured the altar: in the midst, and on either side, according to the fourteenth century Customary, making three swings in all. No further elaboration of the censuring at this moment took place,² and the same directions persist right up to the suppression of the Sarum books by the first Act of Uniformity. After the censuring of the altar the priest was censured by the deacon.

The pontifical of Durandus,³ bishop of Mende, orders two lights and incense in the procession, and the altar's censuring afterwards. In his *Rationale*⁴ he mentions the usual custom of two lights and a censer in the procession to the altar, for all of which he gives mystic explanations. Then he tells us that in some churches three tapers are carried, in others seven. He notes that the censer goes before the taperers. Later on⁵ he describes the blessing of the incense and the censuring of the altar, followed by the censuring of the celebrant; and, in some churches, the deacon then censured all round the altar.

¹ See Appendix. Exeter agrees with the Consuetudinary (*Ordinale*, fol. 106 *verso*: p. 295 in Mr. Dalton's forthcoming edition for Henry Bradshaw Society).

² This simpler method of censuring persisted at Paris until the nineteenth century, in the case of altars censured during a procession (*Caerimoniale parisiense*, Parisijs, 1703; p. 243: "Dum cantatur antiphona, celebrans trino ductu stans thurificet altare, et illud osculatur." *Manuel des Cérémonies selon le rite de l'église de Paris*, Paris, 1846; p. 450: "de trois coups").

³ Edm. Martène, *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus*, Lib. I: cap. iv: art. xij: ordo xxij: Antuerpiae, 1736-38; t. j, col. 615.

⁴ Gul. Durandus, *Rationale divinorum officiorum*, Lib. IV: cap. vj: nn. 1, 5, 6, 17.

⁵ *Ibid.*, cap. viij.

At Wells¹ in 1340 the Sarum customs, with sundry additions and modifications were in use, as at Exeter about the same time. In the description of the mass of Advent Sunday the ceremonial is almost verbatim with the similar section in the Sarum books: but in another part of the Wells Customs' book it is stated that on every major double feast the altar was censed by the priest alone at the beginning of the mass, but on other feasts there was no censuring until before the gospel, when the deacon did it. Exeter, however, appears to have agreed altogether with Sarum at this liturgical moment.

The York² custom was the same as at Sarum: lights and incense were carried in, and the altar was censed.

Apparently the censuring at the beginning of mass, as well as that after the gospel, was omitted on some occasions at Chichester by negligence or carelessness: or possibly, at the time of Bishop Story's visitation in 1478 (it was his primary visitation) the custom of censuring the altar at the beginning of the service had not come in. The passages quoted are from a series of *Comperta et detecta in visitatione predicta per Decanum Residentiarios et non Residentiarios*.

Item dicunt quod Rectores chori non veniunt tempestive ad servicia divina sed quandoque post medium primi psalmi quandoque in fine.

Item compertum fuit quod non thurificant prout moris fuit temporibus missarum celebrandarum in principiis missarum et post evangelium.

Item compertum fuit quod non habent unum Accoliturum assistantem ad alteram missam prout deberent.³

One thing is clear, and that is that Mr. Mackenzie Walcott was mistaken in thinking⁴ that the complaint was

¹ H. E. Reynolds, *Wells Cathedral*, Leeds, 1881; p. 36, *cnf.* p. 9.

² *Missale ad usum insignis ecclesiae eboracensis*, Surtees Society, 1874; pp. 96, 109, 124, 166.

³ From Bishop Story's Register, fo. 8. I am indebted to the Rev. Cecil Deedes, Prebendary of Chichester, for the transcript of this passage.

⁴ *Archæologia*, 1877; xlv, 213.

that the rulers of the choir did not cense. It was not at all usual for them to cense anybody or anything: and an examination of the whole context of the clause settles the matter. But the finding is very vague as to what was expected by Story. "They do not cense (*i.e.* there is no censuring) at the beginnings of masses, nor after the gospel." Censing "after the gospel" usually means that after the offertory: so that if the Chichester folk did not keep up the customary censuring at that moment, which was by the fifteenth century universal in the West, it must have been due to slackness and negligence. One can hardly be very definite with such vague information before one.

At the ancient church of Vienne¹ the archbishop censed the altar at the commencement of mass, according to a MS printed by Martène: but in 1784 this was only done on double feasts (and those higher). On feasts below this rank two tapers were carried in the procession to the altar, but no incense; on doubles (*et supra*) both incense and lights were carried.

At Valentia,² in 1477, the altar was censed on certain (unspecified) days, the priest first blessing the incense; as he censed he recited the verse *Dirigatur*: "Let my prayer, O Lord, be set forth in Thy sight as incense, and let the lifting up of my hands be an evening sacrifice." No directions for a subsequent censuring of either celebrant or altar by the deacon are given.

The influence of the Pian massbook was answerable for the romanising of the ceremonial in a large number of the French uses during the eighteenth century, and even before, as exemplified in the missal of Besançon in 1707, the ceremonial of Angers in 1731, the missals of Tulle in 1750 and of Amiens in 1752, the ceremonial of Langres in 1775,

¹ Edm. Martene, *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus*, Lib. I: cap. iv: art. xii: ordo xxx: Antwerpiae, 1736-38: t. j, col. 648.

² British Museum, Add. MSS. 34,663, fol. 164: "Complectis predictis antiphonis si altare fuerit incensandum dyaconus portet thuribulum cum incenso dicens *Benedicte* . . . Et accepto thuribulo incenset altare sacerdos dicendo hoc versiculum. *Dirigatur oratio mea*," etc.

the missals of Besançon in 1781 and Nismes in 1831, Auch in 1836, Nancy and Toul in 1838, Albi in 1846, etc.

But in other churches this development was only admitted on certain groups of festivals. At Evreux in 1740 the processional entry with incense as well as lights took place on all semi-doubles and feasts higher, but the altar was only censured on feasts of and above solemn-minors. In 1749, at Carcassonne, in whose cathedral church of St. Nazaire Simon de Montford is said to be buried, incense was carried and the altar was censured on solemn feasts: but at other times two lights alone were brought in. At Lisieux in 1752 only two lights were carried ordinarily; but on annual-majors two censers in addition, and the altar was censured. At Mende, in 1764, this was done on Sundays and major doubles.

At Rouen¹ the mass-book of 1499 directs the blessing of incense on the priest's arrival at the altar, which supposes the censuring of the altar; and that of 1624 directs the censuring at the introit. But in neither case is any restriction of it to certain days mentioned. However, in 1759 the censuring at the introit is provided for on all triple feasts and those higher. On Sundays and double feasts and semi-doubles, the priest censes the cross, and then gives three swings on the gospel side of the altar, and three on the epistle side. But on simples and ferias incense was not used.

At Dijon, in 1767, incense was carried in and the altar censured only on solemn feasts and those higher; while at Poitiers in the same year incense was brought in with the lights, but the censuring of the altar was performed on all Sundays, and festivals *a populo feriatis*. At Coutances, in 1778, the censuring at the introit was done only on solemn feasts: at Chartres the censer was in the procession on all solemn feasts (but not on semi-doubles or other days), though the altar was censured at the introit only on solemn-majors and feasts higher. At Le Puy, in 1783, the censer preceded the taperers on all solemn feasts, and the

¹ *Missale secundum usum insignis ecclesiae rothomagensis*, Rouen, 1499. Under *Preparatio ad missam*.

altar was censed: but the ceremonial of 1836 appears to conform to the Pian rite. At Luçon, in the Vendée, incense was carried in the procession to the altar, but the censuring took place only on solemn-minors and feasts higher. Lights were carried at Toulouse, in 1832, at all high masses; but on doubles and feasts of higher rank incense was carried in addition, and the altar was censed.

With the increasing prominence of the censuring of the altar it is natural to find less importance paid to the ceremonial carrying of incense before the celebrant. From its position in the procession as an episcopal ensign, the bringing in of the censer came to be regarded in some places as a mere incident in the necessary transition from the vestry, where the coals were made hot in order to burn the incense, to the altar where, as they began to think, the incense was first put to its proper use. Thus "Hugo of St. Victor," c. 1130, says¹; "In the procession there go the lighted tapers, the subdeacon carries the text closed; the censer precedes them all, but empty. In some churches, however, the priest approaching the altar, censes it at once." Rupert of Deutz, c. 1119, mentions the tapers in the procession, but says nothing of incense until the priest has arrived at the altar.²

In the books of several rites it is left quite uncertain whether any incense was carried in before the celebrant: but on reaching the altar he is directed to bless incense, obviously for censuring the altar, although the purpose is often not mentioned.

At Modena³ c. 1200, and in a Stavelot MS printed by Martène,⁴ which he says was formerly the use of Verdun,

¹ Hugo of St. Victor, *In speculum de mysteriis ecclesiae*, Lib. II: cap. xiv; apud M. Hittorp, *De divinis catholicae ecclesiae officiis*, Parisijs, 1610; col. 1396 D.

² Rupert, *De divinis officiis*, Lib. I: cap. 28; ap. Hittorp, *op. cit.*, 864.

³ Quoted by Muratori in *De rebus liturgicis dissertatio*, cap. vii; in Migne, *Patr. lat.*, lxxiv, 914.

⁴ *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus*, Lib. I: cap. iv: art. xij: ordo xv: Antuerpiae, 1736-38; t. j, col. 585.

and a MS of St. Ouen, Rouen,¹ incense was blessed at the altar : and afterwards the altar was censed, at any rate at St. Ouen, and almost certainly at the other places.

This ceremonial decay is most obvious in those churches, mentioned above, where incense is only brought in on those days when the altar is censed at the introit.

At the collegiate church of St. Martin, Tours, the different ranks of feasts were distinguished by the number of lights carried in the procession to the altar for mass, which reminds us of *Ordo romanus V*. Martène² has printed the order of high mass on feasts of seven candlesticks. The procession was headed by seven *clericuli*, young clerks (or clergeons, as Chaucer would have said) vested in tunics and carrying tapers in their candlesticks ; next two collets vested in copes, after them six subdeacons, one of whom carried a tripod or desk from which to read the gospel, then one carrying the Epistolary. In the midst of the subdeacons walked the master-subdeacon, who was going to read the epistle, carrying the Text. Then six deacons, and the gospeller, and last of all the priest. After the preliminary devotions, said before the tomb of St. Martin, the collets censed the altar of St. Peter and other altars *in circuitu*.

In other places not only were other altars than the high altar censed as well, but the quire too. In the eleventh century Lanfranc³ issued some new decrees for the English Black-monks ; where we find that on feasts of twelve lessons, lights and incense were carried before the priest to the altar, and after the confession the priest censed the altar before and above, then the deacon censed both sides of the high altar, and the morrow-mass altar ; and finally a *conversus* censed the chaunter and the quire. A similar custom prevailed at Hirschau,⁴ and other Benedictine monasteries in the neighbourhood of the Rhine.

¹ *Ibid.*, ordo xxxvij ; col. 677.

² *Ibid.*, ordo xix ; col. 604-5.

³ Migne, *Patr. lat.*, cl, 480.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1022.

The *Disciplina farfensis*,¹ a customs'-book observed not only at Farfa, a Cluniac monastery in the Duchy of Spoleto, but also at the monastery of St. Paul, Rome, describes much the same sort of thing. After the confession the priest censes the high altar, and the deacon the other altars, and then the abbot, and lastly the quire is censed by a *conversus* or lay brother.

Both Hirschau and Farfa derived their customs from Clugny. At Mass the *Consuetudines cluniacenses*² direct the priest to cense the altar at the introit: first the front of the altar, then the surface, reaching forth his hand thrice, in different parts of the width of the altar, then once transversely, then back to the right corner and finally to the left. Then he censes each of the low altars near the quire, and the Cross altar, making only the sign of the cross on them with the incense.

Martène³ says that with the monks of Sangermann, after the priest had censed the altar, the deacon censed the sauctuary, and a servitor the convent.

At Abingdon⁴ towards the end of the thirteenth century on festivals the deacon censed the abbot, and a *conversus* the convent, at *Kyrie eleison*. At St. Augustine's, Canterbury,⁵ in

¹ *Ibid.*, 1268: "Expleta [confessione] accipiat sacerdos thuribulum, et incenset aram, et levita denuo accepto, deferat per altaria et ad domnum abbatem, et conversus per omnes in choro."

² Migne, *Patr. lat.*, cxlix, 715: "De incenso ita gerit ut primum incenset faciem altaris, tunc superficiem manu ter cum incenso porrecta per diversa loca latitudinis altaris, et semel in transversum, tum retro dextrum cornu altaris, tum cornu altaris sinistrum. Incensat etiam altaria quaeque minora choro proxima et Sanctae Crucis altare, faciens per singula cum incenso crucis tantum modo signum."

³ Edm. Martène, *De antiquis ecclesiae monachorum ritibus*, Lib. II: cap. iv: § i: n. xv: Antuerpiae, 1738; t. iv, col. 150.

⁴ *Chronicon monasterii de Abingdon*, Rolls Series, 1858; vol. ij, p. 341: "In festis ad *Kirielison* et post evangelium, diaconus abbatem turificabit, conversus conventum."

⁵ E. M. Thompson, *Customary of the Benedictine Monasteries of Saint Augustine, Canterbury and Saint Peter, Westminster*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1904; vol. ij, p. 253.

the thirteenth century the deacon censured the tombs of the saints and the corpse at masses of *Requiem*, and a reader censured the rulers, and the quire, at the beginning of the mass. Presumably the same obtained at ordinary masses, except, of course, the censuring of the body.

It appears from De Moleon's observations that at the cathedral church of St. Maurice, Angers,¹ the celebrant censured the altar, and then the gospeler and epistoler censured the quire, during the Kyries: so that the practice was not confined to regular churches. At Châlons-sur-Marne in 1748 only two lights were carried in the procession in rural churches of the diocese, except on solemn-majors when incense was carried and the altar censured. At the cathedral church the ceremonial was more complicated. At the introit the deacon censured the cross, the closed Text, and the celebrant; and then the latter censured the altar. At a pontifical (or decanal) high mass the archdeacon (or a canon deacon) censured the right corner of the high altar, then passing behind it he censured the altar of St. Memnius, then the left corner of the high altar, the crucifix in the nave, the altars of St. Mary and St. Joseph; and lastly certain of the dignitaries of the quire. In Eastertide he also censured the pascall and the font.

In another group of churches incense was not carried in the procession, nor was the altar censured at the introit. In some this was never done at any mass, in others (at any rate in later days) it was not done except on high feasts.

At Bayeux,² in the thirteenth century, incense and lights were carried in the procession before high mass, but apparently only the taperers preceded the priest to the altar on ordinary Sundays; which, moreover, was not

¹ De Moleon, *Voyages liturgiques*, Paris, 1757; p. 89.

² U. Chevalier, *Ordinaire et Coutumier de l'église cathédrale de Bayeux*, Paris, 1902; p. 60. But incense was not carried on ordinary Sundays at this procession, pp. 23-4. Apparently incense preceded them to the altar on Christmas Day, &c., p. 62.

censed at the introit. According to the massbook of 1790, incense was not carried in before the celebrant, and on simples and ferias there was only one taperer: but on annuals and solemn feasts at that time they censed the altar.

At St. Paul's, London,¹ on lesser feasts, there was only one taperer, and incense was not burned until after the Epistle. There is no evidence that incense was carried in the procession to the altar at Hereford; but, on the other hand, none to the contrary.

At Paris² in 1703 the altar was censed on feasts above the grade of major double: but in those of and below that rank there was no censuring at the introit. Before the altar was censed the deacon knelt and censed the celebrant thrice. The Manual³ of 1846 agrees in most respects with the Ceremonial of 1703. When there was no censuring of the altar, incense was not carried in before the celebrant.

At Châlons-sur-Saône⁴ there is no mention of any incense being carried at the entry for mass, nor of any censuring of the altar. There was no censuring of the altar at the cathedral church of St. Gatien, Tours, in the eighteenth century⁵; and it does not appear that incense was carried before the celebrant.

Lights, but not incense, were carried before the celebrant at all high masses at Cologne in 1626, Noyon in 1631, Nevers in 1728, Sens in 1769 and 1785, Auxerre in 1738, Narbonne in 1778 (nothing is said in the missal of 1528), Lyons in 1825, 1838, and 1866 and apparently at Reims in 1770 (the missal of 1513 says nothing): nor was the altar censed at the introit. The Dominicans carry lights but not incense; nor do they cense the altar.

¹ W. Sparrow Simpson, *Registrum statutorum et consuetudinum ecclesiae cathedralis Sancti Pauli londinensis*, London, 1873; p. 49.

² *Caeremoniale parisiense*, Parisijs, 1703; pp. 23, 112.

³ *Manuel des Cérémonies selon le rite de l'église de Paris*, par un prêtre du diocèse, Paris, 1846; p. 147.

⁴ Edm. Martène, *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus*, Lib. I: cap. iv: art. xij: ordo xxix: Antuerpiae, 1736-38; t.j, col. 646.

⁵ De Moleon, *Voyages liturgiques*, Paris, 1757; p. 116.

[To face p. 228.]

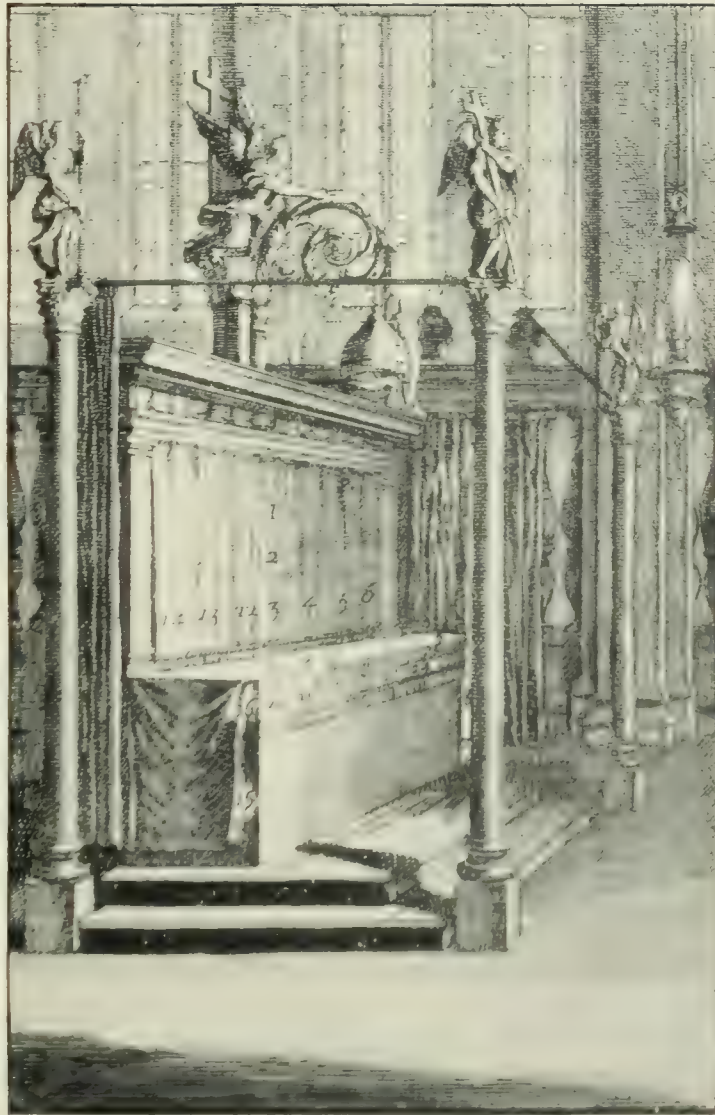


Tabella incensationis altaris.

From the *Ceremoniale Parvianum* of 1793.

Nothing is said in the Augsburg missals of 1510 and 1555 about any incense until the gospel. The altar was not censed at Metz¹ in the eighteenth century until after the offertory: and probably this custom was common in the German churches.

In many French churches there was no incense carried, nor any censuring, on lesser feasts at the entry; although this was done on the higher. There is some difference as to the rank of the feasts on which the censuring is done or not done; but they agree in connecting the censuring at the entry with the carrying in of the censer before the celebrant. For instance: Bourges in 1741 (below solemn-minors), Soissons in 1745 (simples and ferias out of Eastertide; and in rural churches, below triples), Châlons-sur-Marne in 1748 (in rural churches, below solemn-majors), Lisieux in 1752 (except annual-majors), Dijon in 1767 (below solemn feasts), Chartres in 1782 (below doubles), Vienne in 1784 (below doubles), Moulins in 1821 (simple and ferias), Rennes in 1831 (except certain unspecified days), Luçon 1828 (below doubles), Toulouse in 1832 (below doubles), and Meaux in 1845 (below solemn feasts).

The monks of the Charterhouse² do not carry either incense or lights at the entry for mass: and do not cense the altar at that moment. In the twelfth century at Milan the same practice obtained on ferias.

In many places, by a process of overlapping, the altar's censuring synchronised with the singing of *Kyrie eleison*, &c., by the quire. Such was, for example, the church for which the fragmentary Chisian MS was written³: its provenance

¹ Pierre Le Brun, *Explication . . . de la messe*, Paris, 1777; t.j, p. 148.

² Edm. Martene, *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus*, Lib. I: cap. iv: art. xij: ordo xxv: Antuerpiae, 1736-38; t.j, col. 631.

³ M. Magistretti, *Beroldus*, Mediolani, 1894; p. 48.

⁴ Martene, *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus*, Lib. I: cap. iv: art. xij: ordo xij; t.j, coll. 569, 570.

is evidently Gaulish, from the prominence given to St. Denis M. and St. Martin Conf. Bp. in the Litany. At the Benedictine abbey of Deutz¹ near Cologne, abbot Rupert (c. 1119) writes that while the censuring of the altar is in progress the quire sing *Kyrie eleison*, which signifies the whole of the Church's prayers, which are the true incense. Honorius of Autun,² in the *Gemma animae*, makes *Gloria in excelsis* come after the censuring, so that the latter takes place during the singing of the Kyries : and states that the smoke of the incense, which the priest is offering as did the angel in the Apocalypse, represents the prayers of the saints. "Hugo of St. Victor" (c. 1130) states that in some churches the priest censes the altar at the beginning of the service, and that meanwhile the quire sing *Kyrie eleison*.

In actual practice this was commonly the case : an examination of the Sarum rubrics, for example, shows that when the censuring was over the celebrant began *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, so that the Kyries had been sung during the censuring.

Sicardus³ of Cremona (c. 1140) after describing the censuring at the beginning of mass says that the priest while censuring says the verse *Dirigatur, Domine*, "Let my prayer be set forth in thy sight as incense," and so it is that during the censuring prayers, to wit, *Kyrie eleison*, &c., are sung by the Church, which are the true incense. At Sienna⁴ in 1213 the censuring is directed to be done during the introit and the Kyries. In the Evesham Book (c. 1300), as soon as *Kyrie eleison* is begun, the abbot, wearing his mitre, censes the altar.⁵ At Abingdon⁶ on festivals the abbot censed the

¹ *De divinis officiis*, Lib. I : cap. xxix ; ap. Hittorp, 865.

² *In speculum de mysteriis ecclesiae*, Lib. II : cap. xiv ; ap. Hittorp, 1396.

³ Sicardus, *Mitræ*, Lib. III : cap. ij ; Migne, *Patr. lat.*, ccxiiij, 96.

⁴ J. Chrysostomo Trombelli, *Ordo officiorum ecclesiae senensis*, Bononiae, 1766 ; p. 445.

⁵ H. A. Wilson, *Officium ecclesiasticum abbatum secundum usum eveshamensis monasterii*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1893 ; col. 15.

⁶ *Chronicon monasterii de Abingdon*, Rolls Series, 1858 ; vol. ij, p. 341.

altar at *Kyrie eleison*, then he was censed by the deacon, and a *conversus* censed the convent. At Rouen¹ and at Angers² in the eighteenth century the altar's censing also coincided with the singing of the Kyries.

This circumstance is of interest because in many oriental churches a similar coincidence obtained, although the liturgical position of the litany is very different in the Eastern rites from that which it occupies in the Western.

The next moment in the mass for censing is the *Gloria in excelsis Deo*. But it was not by any means so general as the others.

At Wells³ in 1340 on major-double feasts, the altar was censed at the introit : and then again, for the second time, after *Gloria in excelsis* was begun ; after which the quire was censed. In a late fourteenth century MS Coronation Order⁴ preserved at the Bodleian Library is a direction for the King to be censed by the deacon while *Gloria in excelsis* is sung.

Some instances of the kind are found in the French rites down to the eighteenth century. At Rouen at one time they censed the altar at this moment, but at the period when De Moleon visited the cathedral church this had been moved back to the time of singing the Kyries⁵: the censing of the quire, however, was still done during *Gloria in excelsis*, by a collet. In the cathedral and collegiate churches at Bourges in 1741, the deacon and an assistant deacon censed the quire at this moment : the altar was not censed.

The quire was also censed at the cathedral church of St.

¹ De Moleon, *Voyages liturgiques*, Paris, 1757 ; p. 284.

² *Ibid.*, 89.

³ H. E. Reynolds, *Wells Cathedral*, Leeds, 1881 ; p. 9.

⁴ Bodl. MS. 596, fol. 49, *ap.* Chr. Wordsworth, *The manner of the Coronation of Charles the First*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1892 ; p. 67.

⁵ De Moleon, *Voyages liturgiques*, Paris, 1757 ; pp. 284, 363. But on Easter Even the altar was censed at *Magnificat* instead of at *Gloria in excelsis Deo* (*Ibid.*, 305).

Gatien, Tours. De Moleon¹ states that at the commencement of *Gloria in excelsis* two grand-collets or subdeacons in white copes came in with censers, and very large ships, which they presented to the archbishop, if he were in quire, to put incense into the censers. They then censed the sanctuary with three swings, without entering it : next the eagle in the midst of the quire, also with three swings ; after which both went to the archbishop and together censed him with the same number of swings. They then divided, one going to the *decani* side and the other to the *cantoris*, without going up into the seats, and censed the whole quire five or six times coming and going, during the whole of *Gloria*.

Apparently much the same sort of thing was done at Rennes in 1831, on days when there was any censuring. Two censers came in, incense was blessed, and they censed the quire : the altar, apparently, was not censed until after the offertory.

At Evreux in 1740 the deacon spread the corporas and set the chalice, &c. on the altar during *Gloria in excelsis* : after which he censed the chalice thrice, kneeling before the altar.

The previous examples of censuring the altar during *Gloria in excelsis* are obvious reduplications of the censuring at the beginning of the service : but that at Evreux in 1740 must be taken with certain customs observed elsewhere at a later moment of the mass, and compared with the censuring of the Gifts in the Prothesis of the Byzantine Rite.

Censuring of the quire occurs at two points in the mass ; the commencement of the *missa catechumenorum*, and that of the *missa fidelium* : and the frequent selection of *Gloria* and *Credo* as times when it was to be done should be noticed. There seems to have been a tendency to regard singing as a matter that only concerned the quire ; and to think that the rest of the clergy and the congregation might profitably be otherwise employed.

¹ *Ibid.*, 117.

The third moment for censuring the altar is the interval between the liturgical Epistle and Gospel. The earliest instance of this appears to be in the account of the ceremonial of high mass written by John, bishop of Avranches,¹ to his metropolitan Maurilius of Rouen, c. 1030. "Toward the close of the Epistle," he says, "the priest puts incense in the censer, which, after the altar has been censured therewith, is carried before the Gospels-book." This censuring was apparently done by the priest: and at Rouen, before the eighteenth century, as soon as it was time for the procession to the *Jubé* to start, the priest blessed incense and then censured the altar. The custom had been given up when De Moleon visited Rouen.²

At Sarum,³ Hereford,⁴ Exeter,⁵ and Wells⁶ while the *Alleluia* and sequence or tract were in singing, the deacon went up to the altar and censured it in the midst only. This was also done at the Ordination of Deacons at York⁷ in the sixteenth century.

Before this was done, it should be noted that the deacon spread the corporas on the altar⁸: which may account for the censuring at this moment, and so connects it with the custom at Evreux of censuring after spreading the corporas and setting the chalice thereon, during *Gloria in excelsis*: and also brings it into relation with the censuring at the Prothesis in the Eastern Rites.

¹ Migne, *Patr. lat.*, cxlvij, 34.

² *Voyages liturgiques*, 285.

³ *Missale Sarum*, Burntisland; 12.

⁴ *Missale Herfordense*, 117.

⁵ *Ordinale Exoniense*, (Grandisson), fol. 207; p. 295 in Mr. Dalton's forthcoming edition.

⁶ *Wells Cathedral*, 36.

⁷ *Liber pontificalis Chr. Bainbridge archiepiscopi eboracensis*, Surtees Society, 1875; p. 32.

⁸ "Dum *Alleluia* canitur, diaconus, prius ablutis manibus, casula humerum sinistrum modo stolae succinctus, corporalia super altare disponat. Dum prosa canitur, diaconus ipse altare thurificet."

In the fifteenth century some discussion arose about this ceremony in England : and Clement Maydeston¹ lays it down that “when the deacon censens the altar he ought to cense it in the midst only, and not the ends, according to the use of Sarum : but there is a doubt as to the number of swings. Some say with seven, others twelve (in the editions of 1501 and 1508, nine).”

The deacon censed the altar at Mans in 1789 before he read the gospel : at Evreux in 1740, before seeking the blessing of the priest he censed the Text lying on the altar (except on ferials and simple feasts). At Narbonne in 1778, after receiving the blessing, he censed the Text lying on the altar thrice ; the subdeacon then took it up and the thurifer censed it thrice ; after which the procession went forth.

At Hirschau,² the deacon having, if he wished, looked through the gospel passage that he was about to read, replaced the book on the altar : and then the priest censed the Text.

¹Chr. Wordsworth, *Tracts of Clement Maydeston*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1894 ; pp. 36, 37.

²Migne, *Patr. lat.*, cl, 1022.

CHAPTER XIII.

CENSING IN THE WESTERN RITES

AT MASS—*Continued.*

THE use of lights at the reading of the liturgical gospel is mentioned by St. Jerome¹ as the custom of the churches of the East in his days; but no details of it have come down to us. In the Church of Rome it was an established custom by the end of the seventh century at least, as the so-called Gelasian Sacramentary² witnesses.

In the Gallican Church a similar use prevailed at an early period. St. Germain († 576) describing the Paris rite of the middle of the sixth century,³ mentions the carrying of seven lighted candles in the Gospel procession to the pulpit. St. Isidore of Seville († 636) speaks of the collets that carry tapers when the Gospel is to be read.⁴ But neither writer makes any reference to any use of incense at this moment. However, by about 700, some church or churches in Gaul had adopted the Roman books of the time, the Gelasian Sacramentary: and with this the Roman custom of carrying incense as well as lights in the Gospel procession.

At the end of the eighth century a much increased adoption of Roman ceremonial and ritual began: and the

¹ Migne, *Patr. lat.*, xxij, 346.

² H. A. Wilson, *The Gelasian Sacramentary*, Oxford, 1894; p. 50.

³ Migne, *Patr. lat.*, lxxij, 91: "Egreditur processio sancti evangelii . . . cum praedictis harmoniis et cum septem candelabris luminis."

⁴ *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, lib. II: cap. xiv; Migne *Patr. lat.*, lxxxij, 793. *Cnf.* Heterius and Beatus, c. 783, *Epistola ad Elipandum*, lib. I: cap. lxxvj; Migne, *Patr. lat.*, xcvi, 935: "Praecedente Evangelium cercorum lumine in signo gaudii et laetitiae."

result is seen in Mabillon's *Ordines II, V, and VI*. In these lights and incense are directed to be carried in the gospel procession.¹ But we must not imagine that the adoption of the non-Gallican ceremonial was universal. In 852 Hincmar,² bishop of Reims, ordered every priest to have a censer and incense, that incense might be burned at the time when the gospel was read; and at a council held at Rouen³ in 878 an almost identical canon was passed. There has been some dispute as to the date of this Council, some writers have assigned it to 650, but on quite inadequate grounds.

In nearly all medieval uses lights and incense, and often a cross or crosses were carried in the procession from the sanctuary to the place of reading the liturgical gospel. The only exception was at the mass of Easter Even, when from the time of *Ordo romanus primus* at the least, lights were never carried, but only incense. Of the explanations of this enough has been already said. But in some of the later French uses incense was only used on the greatest feasts: Nevers in 1728, Evreux in 1740, Bourges in 1741, Tulle in 1750, Lisieux in 1752, Dijon in 1767, Moulins in 1821, Luçon 1828 and Toulouse in 1832 being among the number. Nothing is said of incense at any masses in the general rubrics of the missals of Noyon in 1631, and Châlons-sur-Marne in 1748.

The monks of the Charterhouse use incense but do not have any lights carried: before the service, however, two

¹ Migne, *Patr. lat.*, lxxviii, 971, 987, 991.

² Migne, *Patr. lat.*, cxxv, 774: "Ut omnis presbyter thuribulum et incensum habeat, ut tempore quo Evangelium legitur, et finito offertorio super oblationem, incensum ut in morte vide licet redemptoris ponat."

³ Cap. i: "Ut tempore quo Evangelium legitur, finitoque Offertorio super oblationem incensum in mortem videlicet Redemptoris ponatur decrevimus." The Gospel-lights are mentioned in the 14th canon of Aelfric's: "He is called the collet who holds the candle or taper at the divine ministration when the Gospel is read." (Attributed to the year 957 by J. Johnson).

[To face p. 237.]



LUGDUNI
In Typographia PETRI VALFRAY Clerici Prædicatoris et Ordinis Cartusienensis
Lithopoeia et Typographia Sumptibus Majoris Cartusiae.
M. DCC. XIII.

L. Goussier Sculp.

The Confession before Mass in the church of a
Charterhouse 1713, showing stationary lights at the
gospel desk.

candles are lit, one on either side of the gospel lectern.¹ Hugo of St. Victor (c. 1130) mentions incense, but does not allude to lights in his description of the gospel procession²: nor does it appear that they were used by the religious of Val-des-Choux³ in the thirteenth century, although incense was on certain days.

At the imperial abbey of Stavelot they lit one taper for the gospel, which was put out immediately after.⁴ At Soissons in 1745 lights were not carried in ordinary masses of *Requiem eternam*, at this moment.

Considerable differences in the order of the ministers taking part in the gospel procession had appeared by the middle of the thirteenth century, as well as of the ministers who carried the gospels'-book. Durandus⁵ says that the deacon was preceded by the subdeacon with the *textus*, and before him the censer, and before him the taperers; and in some churches the cross-bearer with a cross walked in front of all. In England, for instance, at Lichfield⁶ in the twelfth century the cross was carried at the head of the procession

¹ See the frontispiece to *Missale cartusiensis ordinis*, Lugduni, 1713.

² Lib. II: cap. xx; Hittorp, 1399.

³ W. de Gray Birch, *Ordinale Conventus Vallis Caulium*, London, 1900; p. 37: "Sacrista autem, si thurificandum est, interim praearet prunas in thuribulo iuxta finem Alleluia."

⁴ *Voyage littéraire de deux religieux Benedictins*, Paris, 1784; p. 158. They were present at the high mass of 20th August, 1718. De Moleon states that "in the cathedral church of St. Peter at Poitiers, and in the collegiate church of St. Hilary, as also at Savigny, an abbey of the Order of St. Bennet in the diocese of Lyons, one of the two children of the choir went from the altar with his candlestick to light the subdeacon when he chanted the Epistle: the other went to light the deacon on his way to read the Gospel: and the two returned together from the Jubé after the reading of the Gospel with the deacon and the subdeacon" (*Voyages liturgiques*, Paris, 1757; p. 78.)

⁵ Durandus, *Rationale*, Lib. IV: cap. xxiv: n. 1.

⁶ "In omnibus diebus dominicis crux christi portetur cum turribulo et ceroferarijs ante eum qui evangelium leget." (H. Bradshaw and Chr. Wordsworth, *Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral*, Cambridge, 1892-97; pt. ii, p. 14).

every Sunday : and on double feasts to which a procession was annexed, there were two censers, and three crosses carried by three clerks wearing dalmatics. In the next century, at Chichester,¹ the cross was always carried when the gospel was read in the pulpit. The Sarum² custom was for the cross to be carried only on double feasts. At Lincoln³ they had two crosses at the high mass, with two taperers.

In the Roman Church, says Durandus,⁴ the deacon goes first, as the teacher ; the subdeacon follows, as the listener. In some churches, he notes, the censer precedes the taperers. In many churches the candles were decorated with lines of divers colours. In some churches on ferias there was only one taperer.

Sometimes the deacon carried the book, as at Sarum and elsewhere in England, sometimes the subdeacon, and in some places both carried copies of the gospels. At Auxerre, in the cathedral church of St. Stephen, in the eighteenth century, De Moleon describes the procession as headed by a boy carrying a veil, two and a half feet long, to cover the desk, followed by two taperers and the cross, then the censer, the subdeacon, and last of all, the deacon with the Text.⁵

In most of the medieval uses a collet carried the censer in the gospel procession, but at Châlons-sur-Saône⁶ the old Roman custom of a subdeacon carrying it was continued.

The censer walks in the gospel procession to perfume the path along which the gospels' book is borne, not to cense the book. This idea lasts up to the nineteenth century in some of the French rubrics. In the massbook of Poitiers of 1767, the direction is that he shall cense *continuo*, to the place of reading ; and a similar direction exists in that

¹ *Archaeologia*, 1877 ; xlv., 212.

² Frere, *Use of Sarum*, j, 73, 129.

³ *Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral*, 379.

⁴ *Rationale*, Lib. IV : cap. xxiv : n. xj.

⁵ *Voyages liturgiques*, 158.

⁶ Edm. Martène, *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus*, Lib. I : cap. iv : art xij : ordo xxix.

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2. Stephen represented us a deacon with courage and bold of the gospels.

of Narbonne in 1778. More clearly at Sens in 1785, the *via evangelii* is censed as far as the place of reading, either the pulpit or the gates of the quire; but where the gospel was sung in the sanctuary, on account of the straitness of the place, the deacon censed the *locum evangelii*¹; in neither case was the book itself censed. At Lyons in 1825, the rubric for the thurifer is: *continue incensans viam Evangelii*: but in the *Cérémonial* of 1838 he is directed to cense the book all the way. The old rubric appears again in the appendix, (which contains the ceremonial actually used) to the Romano-Lyons missal of 1866.

At Rome, from the fourteenth century,² it was customary to cense the book before reading the gospel, as it lay or was held before the deacon. Probably this was the case at Westminster also, for the rubrics direct it before the reading of the gospel in the Blessing of Palms on Palmsunday.³ From Rome it spread through France in the eighteenth century, where it was very frequently found, on days when incense was used; the earliest instance that I have noticed being the Rouen massbook of 1624. It was common elsewhere also: the rites of Milan in the fifteenth century, and of Köln in 1626 may be mentioned as examples.

At Sens the *Cérémonial* of 1769 directs that if the Gospel be sung in the sanctuary instead of in the *Jubé* or pulpit, the thurifer shall not cense as they go to the gospel, but, during the response, *Gloria tibi, Domine*, the deacon shall cense the book thrice, as he did on annual and solemn feasts, when it was read in the pulpit. But in 1785, the massbook in the former case orders the *locum Evangelii* to be censed, not the book itself. At Soissons in 1745, the book was censed for some time (*aliquamdiu*) by the thurifer, in ordinary masses for the departed, but not at other times.

¹ *Cnf.* Hugo of St. Victor, *In speculum de mysteriis ecclesiae*, Lib. II: cap. xx: *ap.* Hittorp, 1399: "Incenso . . . locum aspergit, in quo legendum est Evangelium."

² *Ordo romanus XV*; Mabillon, *Museum italicum*, ij, 478, or Migne, *P'atr. lat.*, lxxviii, 1304.

³ J. Wickham Legg, *Missale ad usum ecclesiae westmonasteriensis*, 1891-96; fasc. ii, col. 562, and 563 *note*.

In a few churches, instead of, or in addition to, the censuring of the Text, usually during the response, *Gloria tibi*, the gospeller was censured. At Milan¹ in the twelfth century, the subdeacon censured the deacon before he ascended the pulpit to read, after which the clergy, quire, and layfolk were censured by the subdeacons. At a later period, John de Guercijs² describes the censuring of the gospeller as taking place during *Gloria tibi*, after the book had been censured by him. At Sienna,³ in 1213, the deacon announced the gospel and signed the book, after which he was himself censured by the subdeacon: and then when *Gloria tibi* was said, he kissed the book and signed himself, and the censer went and stood behind him so as not to annoy him with the smoke of the incense.

At Laon in 1662 the deacon censured the book, and then the thurifer censured the deacon and the subdeacon.⁴ At Paris in 1703 there was no censuring of the book, but at *Gloria tibi* the thurifer censured the deacon with three swings⁵: and the same is found in the *Manuel des Cérémonies*⁶ of 1846. The custom at Coutances was the same in 1778.

At Monte Cassino,⁷ at the end of the reading of the liturgical gospel, the collet with the incense censured the deacon: there does not appear to have been any censuring of the book there, in the eleventh century. After this the subdeacon, preceded by a collet carrying the censer, took Text to the priest to be kissed, and then to the choir.

¹ *Bevoldus*, 50-1: "subdiaconus praebebat incensum diacono, deinde scholae similiter, et lector ducit eum per camisii oram usque in pulpitem. Interea subdiaconi revertuntur in chorum dando incensum clericis et laicis."

² *Ibid.*, p. 180, 181.

³ J. Chrys. Trombelli, *Ordo officiorum ecclesiae senensis*, Bononiae, 1766; pp. 452 53-54.

⁴ *Ritus ecclesiae laudunensis redivivae*, Parisijs, 1662; p. 162.

⁵ *Caeremoniale parisiense*, Parisijs, 1703; p. 27.

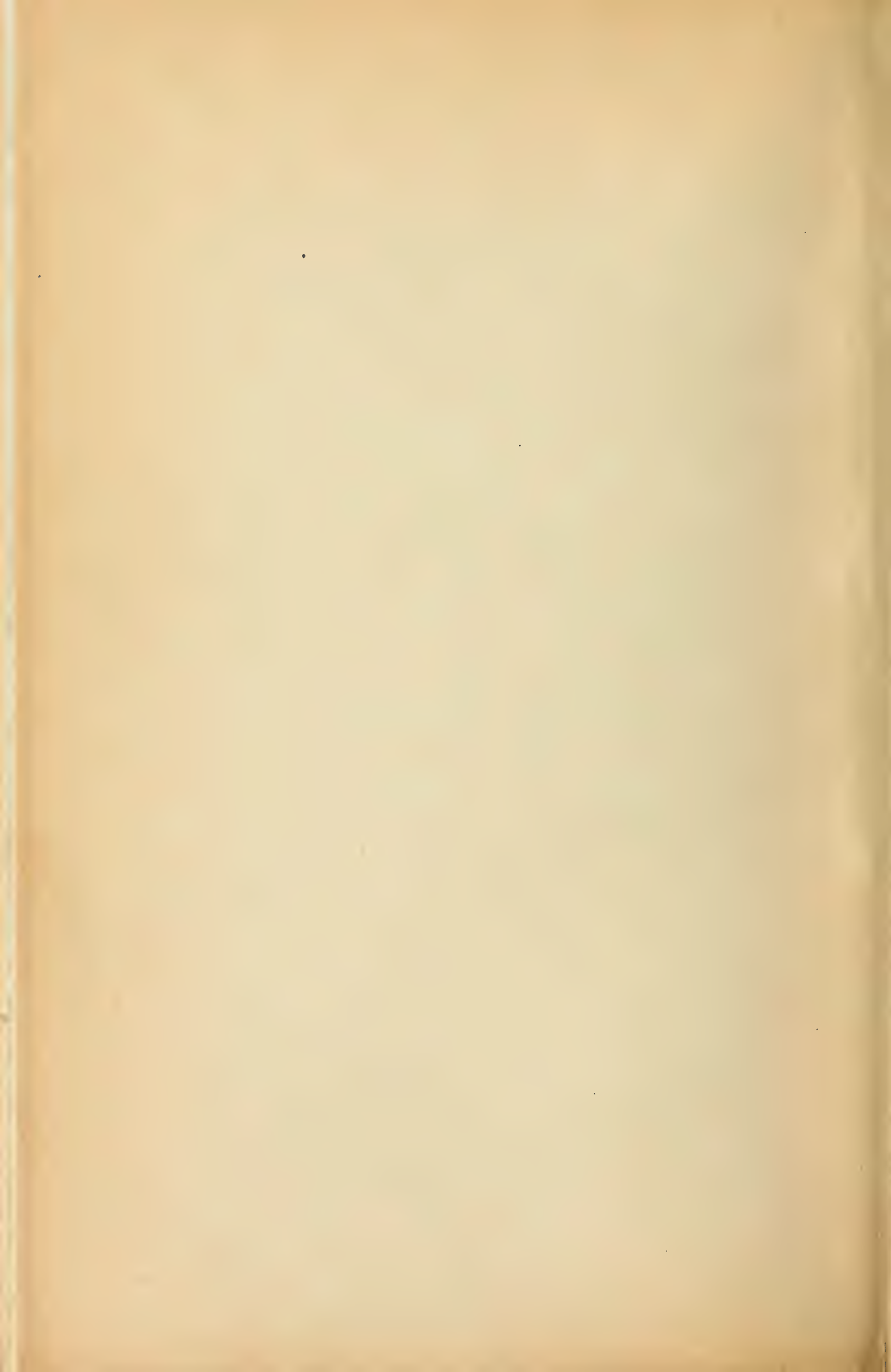
⁶ *Manuel des Cérémonies selon le rite de l'église de Paris*, par un prêtre du diocèse, Paris, 1846; p. 127.

⁷ Edm. Martène, *De antiquis ecclesiae (monachorum) ritibus*, Lib. II: cap. iv: § 1: n. vii.

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The reading of the liturgical Gospel at high mass in
a small church.



The secular English massbooks, Sarum and Hereford, make a point of forbidding the censuring of the desk at which the gospel was read¹: but the custom prevailed in some places amongst the regulars. It was so amongst the Black monks of Evesham,² for instance, at any rate at the gospel in the service for blessing palms on Palmsunday. The Cluniac³ custom was for a *conversus* to make the sign of the cross over the desk with the censer, before the deacon laid the book down on it: and the same obtained with the monks of St. Benignus, Dijon.⁴ "Hugo of St. Victor" says that the deacon censured the place where the gospel was to be read.⁵

De Moleon (Le Brun des Marettes) noted that at the cathedral church of St. John, Lyons,⁶ they did not cense the book either before or after the gospel; but only the large crucifix in the *Jubé* or roodloft, which was censed with three swings both before and after. According to the massbooks of 1825 and 1866 it would appear to be the altar-cross, and not that in the *Jubé*, that was censed before and after the gospel: and at that period the Text was censed also, after the cross, during *Gloria tibi*. The *Cérémonial* of 1838 also directs the censuring of the cross at these two moments.

At Narbonne in 1778 the thurifer censed the altar-cross thrice, standing on the epistle side, after the gospel.

After the gospel two ceremonies were commonly performed, which, though often combined in the later rites, do

¹ *Missale Sarum*, 12. *Missale Herefordense*, 117. W. Maskell, *The ancient liturgy of the Church of England*, Oxford, 1882; p. 10. The York massbook does not give the gospel ceremonial.

² H. A. Wilson, *Officium ecclesiasticum abbatum secundum usum eveshamensis monasterii*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1893; col. 18.

³ Martène, *De antiquis ecclesiae (monachorum) ritibus*, Lib. II: cap. iv: § ii: n. iv. From a MS Consuetudinary. Similarly Lanfranc; Migne, *Patr. lat.*, cl, 463: and at Hirschau (*Ibid.*, 1008).

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *In speculum de mysteriis ecclesiae*, Lib. II: cap. xx, *ap.* Hittorp, 1399.

⁶ *Voyages liturgiques*, 55.

not appear to have had any original connection. These two are : (1) the kissing of the Text by the clergy and quire, and (2) the censuring of the clergy and quire.

In *Ordo I* of Mabillon the Text is offered to be kissed to all standing in the quire¹ : in *Ordo II* to the bishop, all the clergy, quire and people. Next, in the latter, after *Credo in unum Deum* is begun, the altars are censured in some way, and then incense² is offered apparently to everybody, quire and people. In *Ordo V* one collet censes around the altar, and then offers incense to the bishop and all the clergy ; another censes the people.³ The Text is offered to the bishop to kiss, before he is censured ; but not to the others. In *Ordo VI* the bishop kisses the Text and is censured after the Gospel, and then preaches, if he has a mind to : during his sermon the subdeacon offers the text to the brethren, but there is no further censuring.⁴

This kissing of the Text, without any use of incense at the time appears in the rite described by Rupert⁵, Abbot of Deutz, c. 1120 ; and also in the *Disciplina farfensis*.⁶ It is ordered in the massbooks of Vienne in 1784, of Lyons in 1825, and of Pamiers in 1845 (for solemn-major and annual feasts).

¹ Mabillon, *Museum italicum*, ij, 10. Migne, *Patr. lat.*, lxxviii, 943.

² Mabillon, 46. Migne, 972.

³ Mabillon 66. Migne, 987. "Acolythorum autem gestantium incensoria unus pergat ad altare incensionem exhibere circa illud, necnon et episcopo ac presbyteris atque diaconibus cunctoque clero ; alius vero pergat ad populum . . . Subdiaconus . . . exhibeat [evangelia] ad deosculandum episcopo ; quibus exosculatis exhibeatur ei et incensorium."

⁴ Mabillon, 73. Migne, 992. "Episcopus, accepto odore incensi et evangelio deosculato, ad praedicationem . . . perducendus est. Et interim dum sermonem facit ad populum, subdiaconus circumeundo fratribus Evangelium apportet, ab omnibus ordinatim deosculandum."

⁵ *De divinis officiis*, Lib. II : cap. j ; ap. Hittorp, 869 : "Interim subdiaconus apertum Evangelii librum omnibus religioso osculo salutandum, quem ad introitum portaverat clausum."

⁶ Migne, *Patr. lat.*, cl, 1268.

In another group of churches the Text is offered to the quire to be kissed, and incense is carried before it during the ceremony, but there is no censuring of the quire. Honorius of Autun,¹ c. 1120, states that during the mass-creed the Text is carried round the quire, accompanied by incense, and is offered to each person to be kissed. At Soissons,² c. 1255, the same was done : and the custom also obtained at Bourges in 1741, on solemn feasts, at Chartres in 1782, and Bayeux in 1790 : at Cambrai and Noyon, and with the White Canons.

In these cases the incense seems to be used in the same way as in the gospel procession : it is to do honour to the gospels, and not to fumigate the quire.

In other churches the quire was censured after the gospel, but apparently there was no offering of the Text to be kissed : as for instance at the abbey church of St. Martin, Dornick.³

But in a much larger group, the Text was carried round the quire and kissed, and each person thereupon censured, after the gospel, and during the singing of *Credo in unum Deum*. Amongst the churches where this obtained may be enumerated Bayeux, Rouen in 1624, York, Lincoln, Wells, Exeter, Sarum, Milan, St. Paul's London, Auxerre in 1738, Sens, Orleans, Soissons in 1745, Paris, Evreux, Liège, Mans, Dijon, Luçon, Moulins, and Le Puy. Most of these are either in England or the northwest of France. In several of them, the censuring of the quire was transferred till

¹ *Gemma animae*, cap. xix : "Interim evangelium cum incensu per chorum defertur, et singulis ad osculandum porrigitur."

² *Rituale seu Mandatum insignis ecclesiae suessionensis*, Suessione et Parisijs, 1856 ; p. 173. Martène, *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus*, Lib. I : cap. iv : art. xij : ordo xxij : Cl. de Vert, *Explication . . . des cérémonies de l'église*, Paris, 1709-13 ; t. iv, p. 50 : "En plusieurs églises, comme à Angers, à Orleans, à Saint Martin de Tours, etc., le Thuriferaire précédant l'Évangile, encense encore continuellement, soit en allant au Jubé, soit en retournant à l'Autel ; soit aussi en portant le Texte à baiser au chœur, comme à Cambrai, à Noyon, parmy les Premontrez, &c."

³ *Voyage littéraire de deux religieux Benedictins de la Congrégation de S. Maur*, Paris, 1724 ; p. 101. Dornick is called Tournai by the French.

after the offertory on days when *Credo* was omitted : as at St. Paul's, and Lincoln for instance. In others as Le Puy, Dijon, Luçon and Paris, the censuring was transferred on all days below the rank of solemn-major.

This will be the best place to note the difference between the earlier and the later Sarum rite in the time of censuring the quire. It is more apparent, however, than real. In the earlier, the quire is censured during *Credo*, and the oblations, etc., after the offertory. In the later, at first sight it looks as though the censuring of the quire were transferred until after that of the oblations. But the rubrical directions continue :—

But when *Credo* is not said . . . the priest shall cense the sacrifice in the customary manner, but the quire shall not be censured. For the quire shall never be censured after the gospel at mass, save when *Credo* is said, and then always.

The position will be made more clear by quoting from the rubric as found in some MS massbooks, as for instance in one preserved in Bristol, dating from about 1450.

While *Credo* is sung by the quire, the deacon shall approach, after having read the gospel, and offer the book of the Gospels, or the Text, to the priest for him to kiss, on his left hand. Then the priest shall say *Dominus vobiscum*, and the offertory.¹

The rubric goes on to describe the usual offertory and censuring of the oblations, followed by the censuring of the quire. Then it continues :—

After *Credo* the priest shall say, *Dominus vobiscum*, turned towards the people ; and *Oremus*, and the offertory. But when *Credo* is not said (etc., as above).

¹ MS *Missale Sarum*, in the Bristol Museum, fol. 130: "Dum a choro canitur. *Credo in unum deum*. Accedat diaconus post lectum evangelium et offerat sacerdoti librum evangeliorum uel textum deosculandum. In sinistris suis. Deinde dicat sacerdos. *Dominus vobiscum*. et offertorium. Deinde porrigat sacerdoti calicem cum patena et sacrificio [&c., as in *Burntisland reprint*, 593, 594, as far as] postea chorus more solito, eodem quoque ordine sequatur textus. Post *Credo in unum deum*. dicat sacerdos. *Dominus vobiscum* conversus ad populum et. *Oremus*. et Offertorium. Quando uero non dicatur. *Credo in unum deum*." etc.

A similar direction is found at Exeter.¹

What happened, then, was not the transference of the censuring of the quire till after that of the oblations, but the reverse; the anticipation of the offertory and the censuring of the oblations, before the censuring of the quire, which latter still took place, to some extent, whilst *Credo* was in singing.² It is comparable with the overlapping which, as has been seen, caused the synchronising of *Kyrie eleison* and the altar's censuring in so many rites: and with similar overlapping processes at other parts of the service, such as that at *Sanctus*, where the priest got half way through the canon before the quire had finished singing.

One of the most striking features of the Gallican rite, as distinguished from the Roman, is the ceremony known as the Illation of the Gifts, the solemn inbringing of the prepared elements. St. Germain of Paris³ and other writers⁴ speak of it as the procession of the Lord's Body and Blood: by which some have been led to think that it

¹ "Post *Credo* a sacerdote secreta perdictum, accedat subdiaconus et offerat diacono, diaconus autem sacerdoti, euangelij textum deosculandum et a ministris. Et, statim postea, dum chorus cantat *Credo*, accedat diaconus et offerat sacerdoti calicem cum patena et sacrificio . . . (and the offertory proceeds as usual). Hoc peracto, accipiat thuribulum a diacono et thurificet sacrificium, videlicet, ultra ter signum crucis faciens, et ter in circuitu calicis, et ex utraque parte calicis et sacrificii, deinde locum inter se et altare, et dum thurificet dicat *Dirigatur domine ad te oratio mea*. Et postea thurificetur ipse sacerdos ab ipso diacono, et subdiaconus offerat ei textum deosculandum. Deinde accolitus cum thuribulario vadat et thurificet chorum totum, incipiens a rectore chori et postea a maioribus more solito, subsequente eum subdiacono cum textu ab omnibus deosculando. Finito in choro *Credo*, factoque signaculo crucis in facie, vertat se sacerdos ad populum. . . . dicendo *Dominus vobiscum*" (*Ordinale*, p. 297; Edit. Dalton).

² This arrangement is also given in the rubrics of the Norwich massbook (Brit. Mus. MS. 25,588, Plut. 451, fol. 104, and verso). The MS. is only a local variant of the Sarum massbook.

³ Migne, *Patr. lat.*, lxxij, 92, 93.

⁴ E.g. St. Gregory of Tours, *De gloria martyrum*, cap. lxxxvj; Migne, *Patr. lat.*, lxxj, 781, and note d.

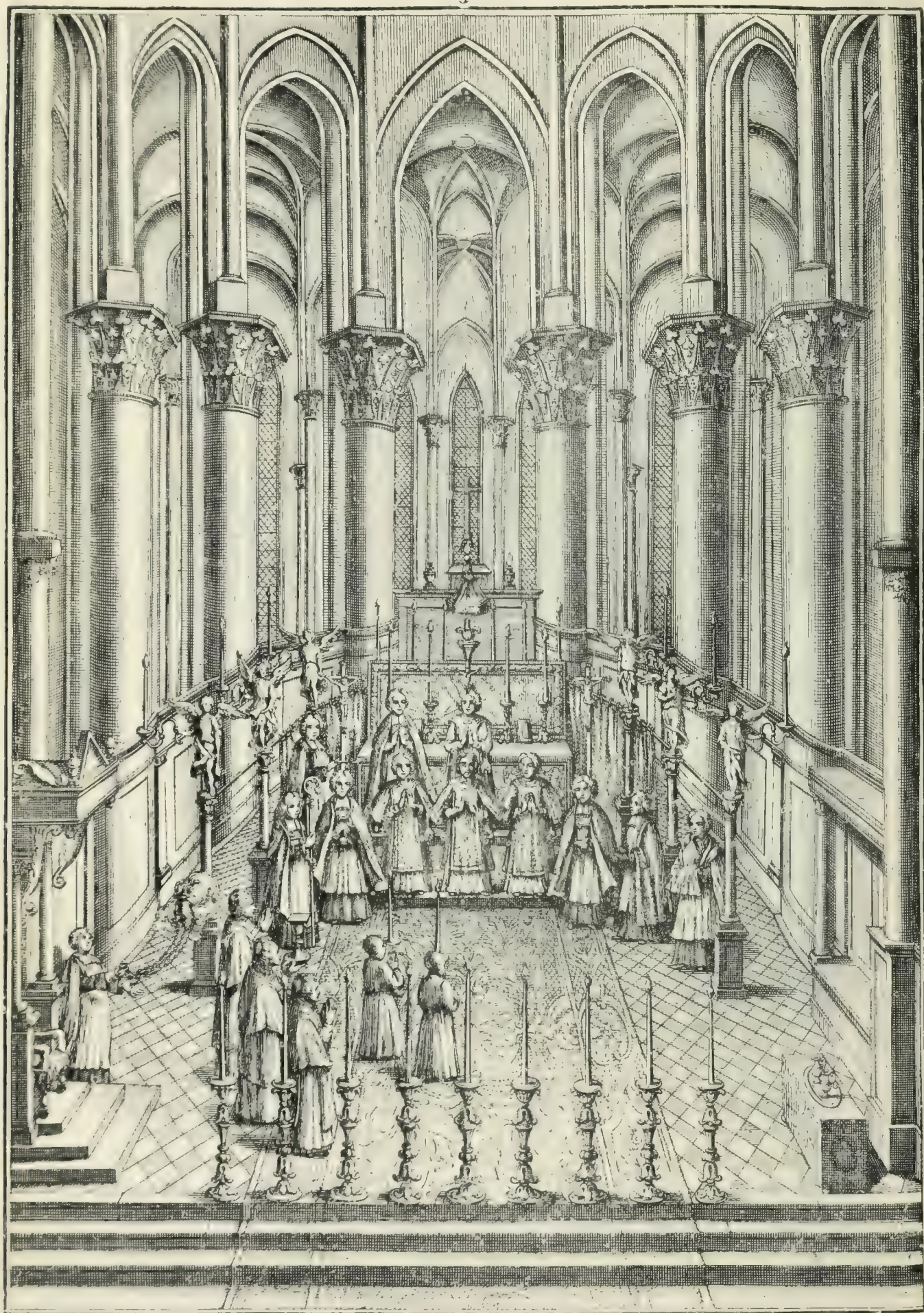
was the reserved and consecrated Sacrament that was so brought in. But the real explanation seems to be that the Gallican Church, like the Byzantine, regarded the oblations as being, after their formal preparation by the deacon, types or icons of our Lord's Body and Blood, divinely appointed ; and so, by the common process of transferring to the picture or image the name of that which it represents, the oblations though yet unconsecrated are called the Body and Blood of the Lord. Hence arises the reverence shewn to the unconsecrated elements which has been so objected to by western writers on the Eastern Churches. The Greeks would say that the prepared oblations were the real and true images of our Lord, and therefore deserving of the reverence ordered by the VIIth general Council towards images.¹

St. Germain says nothing of any use of lights or incense in this procession ; but St. Isidore, in treating of the order of Collets, says that in Latin they are called *ceroferarii*, taperers, because they carry tapers when the gospel is to be read, or the sacrifice offered.² The term 'sacrifice' is commonly used by the Gallican writers for the prepared but still unconsecrated elements.

The Illation of the Gifts was preserved in many medieval rites, and still obtains in that of the Dominican Order. Generally, however, they were brought in without the accompaniment of lights or incense. But at Sarum the collet carrying in the vessels (the elements themselves being brought in earlier and without any special pomp) was preceded by the two taperers carrying their lights. At Bourges there was more elaboration. In 1741 on solemn feast (and those higher) the deacon carrying the vessels was preceded by the cross, two thurifers censuring

¹ Symeon of Thessalonica, in J. M. Neale and R. F. Littledale, *The Liturgies of SS. Mark, James, Clement, Chrysostom and Basil*, London, seventh edition ; p. xxxj.

² *De ecclesiasticis officijs*, Lib. II : cap. xiv ; Migne, *Patr. lat.*, lxxxiiij, 793 : "Acolythi graece, latine ceroferarii dicuntur, a deportandis cereis quando legendum est evangelium, aut sacrificium offerendum."



The bringing in of the Elements at High Mass at Auxerre, 1738.

continually, and the collets with their tapers. At Auxerre in 1738 it was very ceremonious. The subdeacon carrying the vessels, with another subdeacon on either side, passed from the credence where the elements had been prepared, round behind the high altar to the front. Two taperers went before him, and the censer followed, censuring continually.

At Soissons in 1745, when the gifts were not prepared before mass, they were made ready at some time before the gospel: then at the offertory the deacon brought them solemnly to the altar, two taperers and two censers going before him. The censers walked backwards, censuring the gifts until they were set on the altar.

One of the most constant moments, one might even say *the* most constant, in the medieval and later rites for the use of incense is just after the offertory. The earliest documentary evidence for this is in the Gallicanised Roman *Ordo II*, with which we have already dealt. In this *Ordo* incense is offered on the altar after the offering of the gifts; *post oblationem ponitur incensum super altare*.¹ In *Ordo VI* the bishop, saying the Gallican prayer *Veni Sanctificator*, turns round and takes some incense from the warden of the church, and putting it in the censer, offers it on the altar.² Amalar agrees with *Ordo II* in his book *De officiis*³; but does not refer to the incense-offering in his *Ecloga*⁴: nor is there any reference to it in *Ordo V*. Evidently the practice varied in different churches. Hincmar of Reims⁵ in 832 ordered every presbyter to provide himself with a censer and incense, in order that at the time when the gospel was read, and at the end of the offertory, over the oblation, incense should be offered *in morte videlicet Redemptoris*. The same

¹ Mabillon, *Museum italicum*, ij, 47. Migne, *Patr. lat.*, lxxviii, 973.

² Mabillon, 74. Migne, 993.

³ Lib. III: cap. xix: Migne, *Pat. lat.*, cv, 1130.

⁴ Mabillon, u.s., 554. Migne, *Patr. lat.*, lxxviii, 1375.

⁵ Migne, *Patr. lat.*, cxxv, 774.

appears in the canons of the Council of Rouen¹ in 878. These two authorities shew that the incense offering had not become general, even after the middle of the ninth century, in the Romano-Gallican rite.

The Sacramentary of Ratoldus,² abbot of Corbie († 986), does not show any further advance : there is still no censuring of the oblations, although the phrase *dum incensatur* suggests the beginning of something of the sort. At the offertory the priest offers *ad ultimum incensum*, and says two prayers of a definitely sacrificial tendency. The former offers it for the remission of sins, the latter to appease God's anger.

When we come to documents of the eleventh century, we find that the offering of incense after the offertory has definitely given birth to the censuring of the oblations. The rubric in the Codex Tilianus³ is as follows : " Afterwards he takes incense and puts it in the censer, saying : *By the intercession of saint Gabriel the archangel standing at the right of the altar of incense, may the Lord vouchsafe to bless this incense, and to receive it for a sweet savour.* Next he burns incense over the sacrifice, and around the altar, saying : *May this incense, blessed by thee, ascend unto thee, O Lord, and may thy mercy descend upon us. Let my prayer be set forth in thy*

¹ In the *Ordo Senensis* 1213, this capitulary is attributed to Pope Leo (J. Chrys. Trombelli, *Ordo officiorum ecclesiae senensis*, Bononiae, 1766 ; p. 462). In the collection of Canons made by Regino towards the end of the ninth century, a Council of Tours is said to have ordained that the oblations should be censured on the altar after the Offertory (Lib. I : cap. cc).

² Migne, *Patr. lat.*, lxxviii, 243 : " Et ad ultimum incensum, et dicat has orationes dum incensatur : *Domine Deus noster supplici devotione deposimus. . . . Alia. Placetur Domine hoc thymiamate vel incenso furor tuus contra me. . . .*"

³ *Ibid.*, 249 : " Postea incensum accipiens ponat in thuribulum dicens : *Per intercessionem sancti Gabrielis Tunc ponat incensum super sacrificium, et in circuitu altaris, dicat : Incensum istud a te Dirigatur oratio* Quando odor eiusdem incensi episcopo vel caeteris porrigitur, unusquisque dicat *Accendat in nobis*" Notice that the same incense is used for censuring persons in this rite as for censuring the oblations and the altar. Elsewhere different incense was used.

sight as incense." Then follows the censuring of the bishop and others. This MS was written c. 1035, and once belonged to the church of Sèez in the province of Rouen.¹ Closely similar directions appear in the description of the rites of the church of Avranches,² written by John, bishop of that see, for his metropolitan, Maurilius of Rouen, about the middle of the century : again in the mass first printed by M. F. Illyricus³ which belonged to a monastic church of St. Peter, perhaps that at Salzburg, or that at Hornbach : and also in the Salzburg Pontifical⁴ used by Martène in his monumental work on the ancient rites of the Church.

Micrologus⁵ states that though the *Ordo romanus* did not admit any censuring after the offertory, and though, as Amalar acknowledged, the Romans used none ; yet, "now it is practised by very many, almost by everyone."

But though most churches had adopted the custom of burning incense at this moment, it was not everywhere, even yet, a censuring of the oblations. Pseudo-Alcuin⁶ says : "After the oblation incense is offered (*ponitur incensum*) on the altar, the priest saying, *Let my prayer be set forth in thy sight as incense* ; that is to say, as this incense is pleasing and acceptable in the sight of the people, so let my prayer become acceptable in thy sight." The writer did not hold a sacrificial view of incense ; but seemed to regard it as being used only because its perfume was grateful to the congregation.

¹ *Ibid.*, 19.

² *Ibid.*, 253 : "Sicque corporali cooperta incensum desuper offerat, et sic diacono praebeat. Diaconus vero in circuitu altaris deferat, postea sacerdoti ; deinde ministro reddat, ut clero populoque defererat."

³ Migne, *Patr. lat.* cxxxviii, 1328-29.

⁴ Martène, *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus* Lib. I : cap. iv : art xij : ordo xiiij ; t. j, 578.

⁵ *De ecclesiasticis observationibus*, cap. ix : quamvis modo a pluribus, immo pene ab omnibus, usurpetur."

⁶ "Post oblationem ponitur incensum super altare, dicente sacordote. *Dirigatur oratio . . .* : hoc est dicere, sicut incensum gratum est et acceptum in conspectu populi, ita fiat oratio mea acceptabilis in conspectu tuo." (Hittorp, 281).

The monastic remains of the eleventh and twelfth centuries bear their witness to the practice of censuring the oblations. In the second half of the eleventh century Lanfranc issued some new regulations for the English Benedictines. In these it is directed that incense should be brought to the celebrant after the offertory¹; and on Good Friday the reserved *Corpus Christi* and the chalice with unconsecrated wine are censured by the priest after they have been set on the altar,² which certainly shows that the censuring of the oblations took place at ordinary masses. The lack of precise directions points to its being an established custom, about which there was no need to decree anything fresh.

At Hirschau³ the deacon brought incense to the celebrants, who censured thrice over the surface of the altar, then thrice crosswise over the sacrifice, and lastly thrice towards either end of the altar as far as he could reach. At Farfa⁴ they also burnt incense after the offertory, but the directions are vague. The Cluniac⁵ rules are more precise: the priest makes three crosses over the oblations with the censer, then once round them; next he censures towards either end of the altar, as far as he can reach without moving his feet. Then the deacon censures the celebrant, then the right corner of the altar and the surface there, and the same at the left. After this, should it be a festival, he censures the five nearest altars, and that to which the convent made procession at evensong and mattins. A *conversus* then censures the quire, and those outside the quire: after which he censures those low altars which the deacon has not censured, in front, to the right, and to the left; taking care, however, not to stretch out his hand over the altar. The Casaline Benedictines,⁶ after censuring the oblations cense

¹ Migne, *Patr. lat.*, cl, 480.

² *Ibid.*, 465.

³ *Ibid.*, 1012.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1237, 1268.

⁵ Migne, *Patr. lat.*, cxlix, 717.

⁶ Martène, *De antiquis ecclesiae (monachorum) ritibus*, Lib. II: cap. iv: § ii: n. xxvii; t. iv. 172.

[To face p. 251.]



The censuring at the offertory.

From a MS of the IXth (Xth or XIth?) century.

towards the right and the left ends of the altar, without moving their position, and then the lower part. The Charterhouse monks¹ cense the oblations, then once towards the right and once towards the left, of the altar, then thrice before the front of it.

In the later medieval uses the censuring of the oblations is universal when incense is used²; but there are some curious variations or exceptions in some of the later French rites to which we will refer later on.

The oblations are censed either by waving the censer in the sign of the cross over them, or by circling it around them, or by both motions; but there is some variety in the combinations of these methods.

Claude de Vert³ states that the Blackfriars, Carthusians, Premonstratensians, and Cistercians only cense the oblations once at the offertory; that the missal of the abbey of Essôme of 1547 says, twice or thrice; and the ordinary of St. Pierre le Vif, once or thrice. The Blackfriars⁴ cense once, crosswise; and at Milan⁵ in the twelfth century after the offertory the celebrant offered incense on the altar *in modum crucis*, but it does not appear that the intention was to cense the oblations.

¹ *Ibid.* Cnf. *Missale cartusiensis ordinis*, Lugduni, 1713; p. 184: "Antequam thurificet Calicem et Altare Sacerdos, tenens thuribulum elevatum super Calicem in manibus, dicit: *Dirigatur, Domine, Oratio mea, sicut incensum in conspectu tuo.* Deinde thurificat semel super Calicem et Hostiam in modum Crucis, dicens: *In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti, Amen.* Et postea semel in modum coronae. Deinde semel ad crucem, semel ad dexterum, semel ad sinistrum cornu, ter ante faciem Altaris."

² The Sarum Customary says: *tamen sacrificium cottidie thurificatur* (Frere, *Use of Sarum*, i, 102).

³ Cl. de Vert, *Explication . . . des cérémonies de l'église*, Paris, 1709-13; t. iij, p. 230.

⁴ J. Wickham Legg, *Tracts on the Mass*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1904; p. 78. *Caeremoniale iuxta ritum sacri ordinis Praedicatorum*, Mechliniae, 1869; p. 375.

⁵ M. Magistretti, *Beroldus*, Mediolani, 1894; p. 52: "et facit incensum Domino super altare in modum crucis."

At Laon,¹ c. 1200, the priest "sprinkled the odour of incense around the chalice, and before the altar to the right and to the left."

At the convent of Val-des-Choux, Burgundy,² where the use was akin to that of the Charterhouse, in the thirteenth century the priest censed the chalice and the altar at the offertory in the following manner: "once let him circle it around the chalice, once let him cense the right part of the altar, once the left, once the front. . . . Then the deacon shall cense first the right part of the altar, twice away from himself, then the cross twice, then twice to the right, passing behind the altar, and twice to the left."

At Soissons,³ c. 1260, the priest offered incense on the altar with a prayer that it might be accepted "as a sweet savour and for the remission of all our sins," after which the censer was circled round the chalice. Here we have the old incense-sacrifice and the new censuring of the oblations co-existing; the change from the one to the other is still in being, but not yet accomplished.

An old MS *Rituale* of Aroaix cited by De Vert⁴ directs the oblations to be censed once crosswise, and once in a circle: the Charterhouse statutes quoted by Martène,⁵ once over the chalice, *in modum crucis*, then once *in modum coronae*; the Cistercians⁶ made one circle and one cross, and

¹ U. Chevalier, *Ordinaires de l'église cathédrale de Lyon*, Paris, 1897; p. 14: "His administratis, sacerdos, a clerico thure accenso, thuribulum accipiens a diacono, circum calicem et ante altare dextrorsum et sinistrorsum odorem spargit."

² W. de Gray Birch, *Ordinale conventus Vallis Caulium*, London, 1900; p. 37.

³ *Rituale seu Mandatum insignis ecclesiae suessionensis*, Suessione et Parisijs, 1856; p. 174. Martène, *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus*, Lib. I: cap. iv: art. xij: ordo xxij; t. j, 612.

⁴ Cl. de Vert, *op. cit.*, iij, 231.

⁵ Martène, *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus*, Lib. I: cap. iv: art. xij: ordo xxv; t. j, 632.

⁶ Martène, *De antiquis ecclesiae (monachorum) ritibus*, Lib. II: cap. iv: § ij: n. xxvij: Antuerpiae, 1736-38; t. iv, col. 171. But the earlier use was (Ph. Guignard, *Les monuments primitifs de la règle*

the Casaline Benedictines¹ one cross and three circles; but the Cluniacs² three crosses and one circle. At Hirschau³ the priest censed thrice before the altar, then made the sign of the cross thrice over the sacrifice, after which he censed thrice towards each end of the altar as far as he could stretch out his hand. At Chur in 1589 incense was blessed at the offertory and the chalice censed; but how, is not there stated. On Good Friday, however, a rubric directs⁴ that the chalice be censed thrice *in modum crucis*; so that that probably represents the practice at other times. The *Cérémonial* of Lyons of 1838 orders the censuring of the oblations to be performed thrice horizontally.

Durandus⁵ says that the priest censes the oblations *in modum crucis et coronae*: and goes on to give mystic reasons for his doing it once, and doing it thrice.

In most uses it is the celebrant who censes the oblations, and the reason is easy to see, if we remember that this

cistercienne, Dijon, 1878; p. 144) "Semel volvat illud circa calicem, semelthurificat dexteram partem altaris desuper, semel et sinistram, semel quoque anteriorem."

¹ *Ibid.*, col. 172.

² *Ibid.*, col. 170. The priest then censed towards both corners of the altar, *pedibus tamen immotis*

³ Migne, *Patr. lat.*, cl, 1012: "Quo imposito, altare et sacrificium sacerdos incensat hoc modo: in primis, tribus vicibus incensat in faciem altaris; deinde facit tres cruces cum eodem incenso super sacrificium; post haec super utrumque cornu altaris per tres vices incensat quantum potest extendere manu."

⁴ *Missale secundum ritum curiensis ecclesiae*, Constantiae, 1589; fol. 332: "Si imponit incensum in thuribulum dicat haec orationem: *Per intercessionem beati angeli Michaelis . . . Cum incensat calicem: Incensum istud a te . . . Dirigatur oratio in peccatis.*" Fol. 180: On Good Friday the chalice is censed *tribus vicibus in modum crucis*.

⁵ Durandus, *Rationale*, Lib. IV: cap. xxxj: n. i: "Oblatione mystica . . . suscepta, statim adoletur incensum. . . . Et sacerdos in modum crucis superducit et circumducit incensum super sacrificium et altare . . . n. ij: quod vero postmodum undique totum incensatur altare . . . n. iij: . . . sacerdos turificat in modum crucis et coronae [oblationem]: si semel turificat . . . si vero ter . . . Sane omnibus defertur incensum . . . nisi in missa pro defunctis."

censing grew out of a sacrificial offering of incense. But at the cathedral church of St. Lambert, Liège, on the 17th September, 1718, the feast of the patron saint, "at the offertory the deacon censed the oblations and the altar;" but on the following Sunday at the church of St. Laurence the celebrant censed the reserved eucharist and the oblations, but the deacon the altar.¹ It is possible that the learned Benedictines were mistaken when they say that the deacon censed the oblations on the feast of St. Lambert: the Liège books do not prescribe it: but men like Dom Martène and Dom Durand were liturgical experts who knew what they were writing about, and without direct proof to the contrary must be presumed to have described accurately what they saw. In 1769 the priest was directed to cense the oblations, and then the altar, next the cross ('thrice, not six times,' a protest perhaps against the double swings of the Roman rite): then the deacon censed the priest, and afterwards the altar. This he did very much as the priest does in the present Roman rite.

In some churches a curious form of censing prevailed after the offertory, at any rate in later days. Thus at Paris, according to the *Caeremoniale* of 1703, on feasts higher in rank than major-doubles, the priest censed the oblations in the usual manner, then the eucharist hanging over the altar *trino ductu*, and then the altar in the usual Roman fashion, after which the deacon censed the relics and the holy oils. But on major-doubles and lower feasts, if the eucharist was reserved over the altar, the priest kneeling on the lowest step of the altar censed it, after which the deacon censed him, and the relics, etc., as usual. When, however, the eucharist was not there, the priest censed the cross and oblations together with three swings, *trino ductu*; and the rest was done as usual. On solemn feasts and those

¹ *Voyage littéraire de deux religieux Benedictins*, Paris, 1724; p. 191: "à l'offertoire, le diacre encensa les *oblata* et l'autel." *Ibid.*, p. 192: "à l'offertoire, le celebrant benit l'encens; mais il ne le mit pas dans l'encensoir. Il encensa le Saint Sacrement et les *oblata*; le diacre encensa l'autel."

higher, the deacon kneeling before him censed the priest before the latter censed the oblations.

At Bourges in 1741 the priest censed the oblations, cross, and altar, as usual on the feasts higher than doubles; but on doubles and semidoubles, after censing the oblations, he knelt on the first step and censed the altar thrice.

At Laon in 1773 the ceremony was still more interesting. The priest, kneeling below the altar, censed the oblations with three swings; then, rising, censed thrice again as he went up to the altar, after which he censed the gospel end of it, and then the epistle end. In the Laon *Ordo* printed by Martène, the priest censed the chalice covered by the corporas; then the altar, in front, on the right and on the left, and lastly, the chalice again as before.¹

At St. Martin at Tours, according to an ancient MS *Rituale* quoted by Martène,² the priest censed the altar as the offertory anthem was being sung: but nothing is said of the oblations. At St. Gatien,³ the cathedral church of the same city, De Moleon noticed, in the beginning of the eighteenth century, that they did not cense the altar at all, except after the offertory, when they censed *super oblata*, that is, over the host and chalice. It seems very difficult to make a distinction between the practice of these two churches: it probably resolves itself into a difference of intention only.

In the Codex Tilianus⁴, which belonged to the church of Séez, c. 1035, incense is offered *super sacrificium*, with the prayer that the incense may ascend to God, and that his mercy may descend on us. At Avranches,⁵ about the

¹ Martène, *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus*, Lib. I: cap. iv: art. xij: ordo xx: "Sacerdos accepto turibulo incensat calicem protectum corporali: altare a parte anteriori, a dextris, et a sinistris, et postea calicem ut prius. Diaconus vero accepto turibulo dictum sacerdotem genu flexo incensat, tenens casulam manu sinistra."

² *Ibid.*, ordo xix: "Dum offerenda canitur, presbyter, a diacono turibulum accipiens, altare turificat, post tradit illud diacono."

³ *Voyages liturgiques*, 116.

⁴ Migne, *Patr. lat.*, lxxviii, 249.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 213.

middle of the same century, it was offered "over the oblations"; no prayer being mentioned. In the mass of M. F. Illyricus,¹ the censer is waved *super panem* and around the chalice, the number of times being not mentioned: and a prayer is said at the same time, that our humble orisons may ascend with the incense to the Father, and that on the bread and the chalice there may descend the plenitude of Divinity, and the majesty of the Holy Ghost.

At Coutances in 1778 the censuring on solemn feasts was of the usual type, as in the Pian-Roman rite: but on others, instead of this, the priest censured the Eucharist in the tabernacle, if it were there, or else the cross. At Luçon in 1828 it was similar. On solemn days the censuring was of the Roman type: but at other times the priest censured the oblations by kneeling below the altar and censuring thrice towards its midst. At Meaux in 1845 the censuring on solemn feasts was of the Pian-Roman type: but on major-doubles and Sundays only the oblations and the cross were censured.

At Rennes in 1831, on annual feasts, the priest censured the oblations, the Eucharist, and the altar: and then he was censured by the deacon: on major-solemn days the same was done, except that the censuring of the altar was omitted. On minor-solemn days and doubles the priest censured the oblations, the thurifer censured the Eucharist, and the priest: on semi-doubles, and all lower, the deacon censured the Eucharist and the priest, after the latter had censured the oblations.

In the majority of the uses the oblations are censured thrice in the sign of the cross, and thrice in a circle around them. It was so done at Sienna² in 1213, at Sarum, Wells and Exeter; at Bayeux in the thirteenth or fourteenth century,³

¹ Migne, *Patr. lat.*, cxxxviii, 1328.

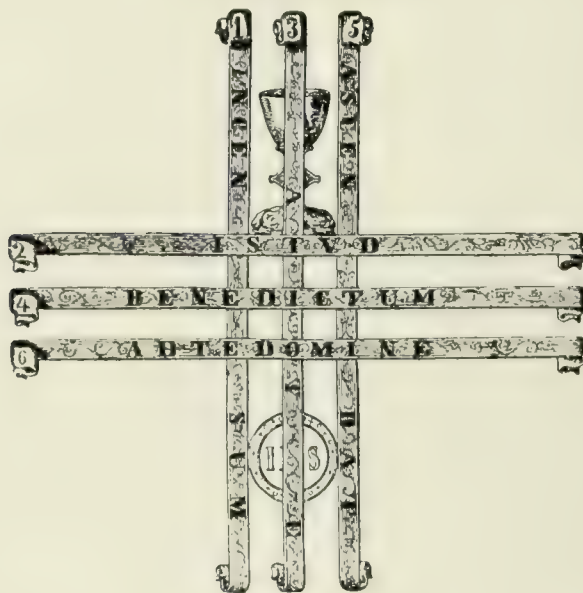
² J. Chrys. Trombelli, *Ordo officiorum ecclesiae senensis*, Bononiae, 1766; p. 462: "Signato et accepto thuribulo fumigante, sacerdos facit crucem cum thuribulo super hostiam tertio, et in circuitu circum ter."

³ Martène, *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus*, Lib. I: cap. iv: art. xij: ordo xxiv; t. j, 628. V. Chevalier, *Ordinaire et Coutumier de l'église cathédrale de Bayeux*, Paris, 1902; p. 29.

[To face p. 257.]

*Ordo incensandi Oblata juxta Rubricas
Missalis Romani. (Rit. Celebr. Miss. viii. 10)*

In modum crucis.



In modum circuli.



The censuring of the oblations according to
the Roman rite of the present day, as given
in the Roman missal.

[By permission of Messrs. Burns and Oates.]

&c., &c. Rome had adopted this method at anyrate as early as the middle of the fourteenth century, when it appears in *Ordo romanus XIV*, attributed to James Caietano.¹

In England in the poorer churches, this censuring only took place on high feasts and was apparently the only censuring at the mass, in the middle of the sixteenth century.²

In a large number of rites, after the priest had censured the oblations, he censured the altar, and was then censured himself by the deacon : as for example at Sarum in the thirteenth century, at Rome about the middle of the fourteenth,³ and most of the later uses. There is no need to cite any more of them here. But in some rites this was either not used at all, or else only on very high festivals. In some early printed massbooks while there is a reference to censuring the oblations, there is nothing of censuring the altar : of course this is not enough to prove that the altar was not censured.

This was the case at Throndhjem, the metropolitan church of Norway, in 1519, where the rubric only directs that the oblations be censured, but the length of the accompanying form suggests the censuring also of the altar.⁴ This rite is of more than merely local importance as it claimed to be for the whole kingdom of Norway, and the British dioceses of Orkney and of the Isles⁵ were suffragan to the see of Trondhjem until 1468 and 1472 respectively.

¹ Mabillon, *Museum italicum*, ij, 302. Migne, *Patr. lat.*, lxxviii, 1164.

² T. Becon, *Prayers and other pieces*, Parker Society, 1844; p. 264: "After the creed, upon solemn feasts, ye use to cense the altar."

³ Mabillon, 302. Migne, 1164.

⁴ *Missale pro usu totius regni Norwegie secundum ritum sancte metropolitane nidrosiensis ecclesie*, Copenhagen, 1519, fo. h. iij. *Deinde benedicat incensum dicens.* In nomine . . . benedi+catur hoc incensum et acceptabile fiat domino in odorem suavitatis. Amen. *Deinde incensetur sacrificium dicens.* Incensum istud. . . Domine clamaui. . . sacrificium vespertinum.

⁵ Man was not cut off from Sodor, or the Sudreys (i.e. the see of the Isles) till c. 1380, and although made suffragan to York soon afterwards, its bishops continued the old title. There is evidence that some Throndhjem customs were in use in Orkney as late as 1544.

At Augsburg, the missals of 1510 and 1555 provide for the use of incense at the offertory,¹ and the latter for the censuring of the oblations; and so does the *Rituale* of 1764, but all are silent as to censuring the altar. The massbook of the Bursfeld congregation of Blackmonks,² printed in 1498, gives a blessing of incense after the offertory and some ejaculations for use while censuring: that of Cambrai, of 1507, provides for the censuring of the oblations and of the quire.³ The censuring of the oblations is mentioned by the massbooks of Constanx in 1485 and 1510: and that of Chur in 1589.

At Autun⁴ in 1556 the direction for censuring at the offertory is *offerens super altare*: at Liège⁵ in 1502, *quando offers incensum*: and at Seville⁶ in 1507, Toledo⁷ 1512, and in the Mozarabic rite,⁸ the incense is plainly a sacrifice for the appeasement of God's wrath. At Milan⁹ in the twelfth century the celebrant *facit incensum Domino super altare in modum crucis*. None of these cases are, strictly speaking, cases of censuring, whether of the oblations or of the altar; but are genuine offerings of incense as a sacrifice to the Lord, upon the altar, *i.e.*, by waving the censer over it. In course of time they developed or degenerated (which-

¹ There is also a form (*Incensum istud*) provided for blessing incense at Hildesheim in 1511 (*Missale hildeshemense*, Nürnberg, 1511; pl. cxcij. verso).

² *Missale secundum consuetudinem unionis et observationem bursfeldensis*, Spires, 1498; amongst the unnumbered leaves at the end.

³ *Missale ecclesiae camaracensis*, 1507; fol. cxxxj.

⁴ *Sacrorum codex* (vulgo *Missale nuncupatus*) *iuxta ritum ecclesiae heduensis*, Lugduni, 1556; fol. cxxxix verso.

⁵ *Missale leodiensis ecclesiae*, Spires, 1502; fol. a 2 verso (these pages are not numbered).

⁶ *Missale secundum usum alme ecclesie hispalensis*, Seville, 1507; fol. cxxv verso.

⁷ *Missale toletanum*, Burgos, 1512; fol. cxx.

⁸ *Missale mixtum*; Migne, *Patr. lat.*, lxxxv, 529.

⁹ *Bevoldus*, 52.

ever view be preferred) into censuring : but they were not so at the dates above mentioned, and the Mozarabic rite has not altered yet.

The same remarks hold good of the use of incense at Corbie given in the Ratoldus Codex ¹ of the latter part of the tenth century, save that here as has been said, the wording of the rubric suggests a period of transition, although the prayers with which the incense is used are definitely sacrificial in tone.

At Avranches ² in the eleventh century there was no censuring of the altar by the priest, after the offertory : nor strictly speaking was there at Soissons ³ in the thirteenth, nor at Tours in the eighteenth.⁴

At Lincoln in 1400 the priest only censed the chalice and the corporas ⁵ : it is not clear whether the latter was covering the chalice at the time, and included in the one action. At the abbey of Marchienne ⁶ the deacon censed the altar at the offertory : but whether the priest did so as well does not appear. At Evreux in 1740 the priest only censed the altar on solemn feasts and those higher : at Coutances in 1778 the altar's censuring was omitted on all except solemn feasts ; and the same obtained at Paris in 1777, and Sens in 1769. At Rennes in 1831 the altar was censed after the oblations only on annuals : at Luçon in 1828 it does not appear to have been done at all : and at Meaux in 1845 the altar was only censed on solemn feasts at this moment.

After the censuring of the oblations and of the altar (where

¹ Migne, *Patr. lat.*, lxxviii, 243.

² *Ibid.*, 253.

³ *Rituale seu mandatum insignis ecclesiae suessionensis*, Suessione et Parisijs, 1856 ; p. 174 : "oblato itaque incenso super sacrosanctum altare, et circa calicem per circuitum deuoluto, redditur diacono incensarium."

⁴ *Voyages liturgiques*, 116.

⁵ H. Bradshaw and Chr. Wordsworth, *Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral*, Cambridge, 1892 ; pt. i, 379 : "Diaconus principalis acceptum turibulum dabit sacerdoti ad incensandum calicem et corporale."

⁶ *Voyage littéraire de deux Benedictins*, Paris, 1724 ; p. 96.

that was done) by the priest, in many rites there followed a censuring of the (high) altar by the deacon, all round it. This was observed at Avranches in the eleventh century; by the Cistercians, Cluniacs, Carthusians, and the Black monks of Monte Cassino; at Milan and Laon in the twelfth century; at Sarum, Sienna, and Val-des-Choux in the thirteenth; at Châlons-sur-Saône, and Nevers; at Rome and at Lincoln in the fourteenth; and in the eighteenth at Auxerre, Bayeux, Chartres, Liège, Lyons, Metz, ¹ Rouen, and Soissons. The details vary considerably in the different uses: at Sarum, and at Orleans in the eighteenth century, he censed the left or gospel side of the altar; but at the former he went round and censed the relics also. At Liège he censed the whole altar much as the priest does in the present Roman rite. At Lyons he walked round the balustrade surrounding the altar, censuring thrice in the midst in front and at the back, like the Carthusians.

In some churches the censuring *in circuitu* seems to have been done by the priest: the rubrics are not always absolutely clear, but such is their apparent meaning. In the mass of M. F. Illyricus ² there is no doubt: the bishop or priest goes round the altar with incense saying the prayer, *Incensum istud . . .* and the verse *Dirigatur oratio mea . . .* The Codex Tilianus, ³ representing the use of the church of Séz has a similar rubric: "Then let him offer incense over the sacrifice, and *in circuitu altaris*," saying the same prayers. And the same or very similar appears in a Salzburg ⁴ pontifical of the eleventh century; in a MS belonging to the monastery of Stavelot ⁵ which appears to

¹ Cl. de Vert mentions John of Avranches, the Ordinary of Nevers, the Carthusians, and Metz, as cases where the deacon censes all round the altar (*Explication*, t. iij, p. 74).

² Migne, *Patr. lat.*, cxxxviii, 1328.

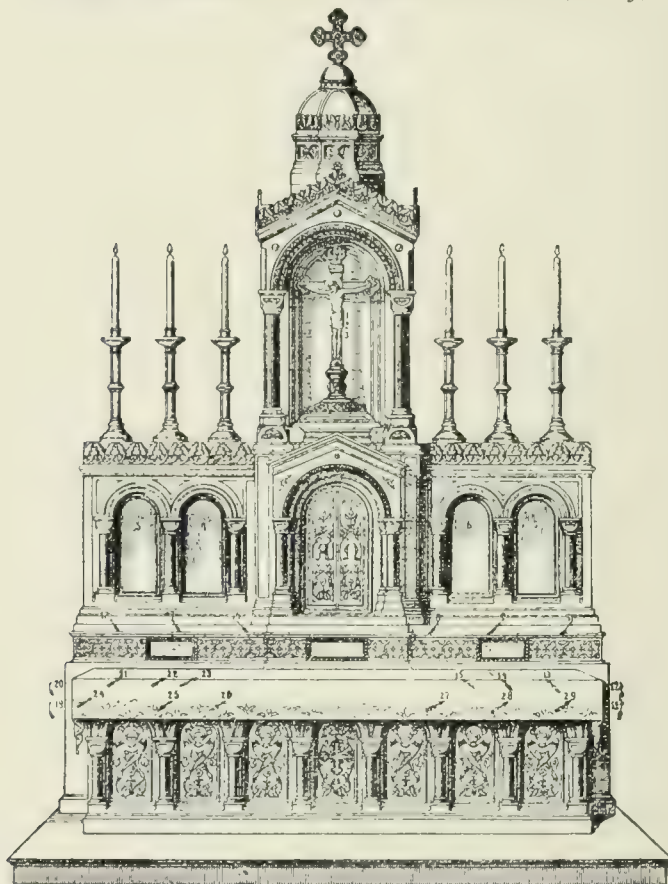
³ Migne, *Patr. lat.*, lxxviii, 249.

⁴ Martène, *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus*, Lib. I: cap. iv: art. xij: ordo xiiij.

⁵ *Ibid.*, ordo xv.

[To face p. 261.]

*Ordo incensationis Altaris juxta Rubricas
Missalis Romani (Rit. Celebr. Miss. iv. 4 et. 5).*



*Si in Altari non adsunt Reliquiae, seu imagines
Sanctorum, omittitur earum Incensatio, quae
inducitur sub numeris 4, 5, 6, 7 (Rit. celebr. Miss.
II. 5.), et statim, incensata Cruce Num. 1, 2, 3,
proceditur ad incensandum Altare per ordinem
Numerorum 8, 9, etc. ad. 29.*

The censing of the altar according to the Roman
rite of the present day, as given in the Roman
missal.

[By permission of Messrs. Burns and Oates.]

be of the use of Verdun ; and in a book belonging to Gregorsminster in the diocese of Basel,¹ all printed by Martène.

The priest, and not the deacon, seems to be directed to do this censuring at Reims² in 1513, and at Valentia³ in 1477.

In the Roman rite since the fifteenth century the censuring *in circuitu* by the deacon has disappeared : and in its place the priest censes the altar all over with an elaborate number of swings.

After the censuring *in circuitu* the deacon usually censed the priest in the medieval uses and the later rites : but at Paris he did it before the censuring of the altar. Next there followed the censuring of the relics (unless they were on the altar or the reredos, when they were usually censed as the deacon went round the altar), of various low altars in the church, of tombs of bishops and others, of images, and of cupboards or aumbries. Amongst those churches where this obtained may be enumerated Bayeux, and Laon, in the thirteenth century ; Auxerre, Bourges, Châlons-sur-Marne, Chartres, Lisieux, Nevers, Narbonne, Noyon, Sens, and Soissons ; the Cluniacs, the abbey of Marchienne, and the church of St. Martin at Tours. At Laon,⁴ for example, the priest censed the chalice covered by the corporas, then the altar (front, right and left sides) then the chalice again.

¹ *Ibid.*, ordo xvi.

² *Missale secundum usum ritum et consuetudinem insignis ecclesie remensis*, Parisijs, 1513 ; fol. xcvij : " Et dum sibi incensum porrigitur dicat : *Accendat in nobis . . .* quando ponit inthurribulum incensum dicat : *In nomine patris . . . sit benedictum hoc munus oblatum in remissionem omnium peccatorum.* Quando incensat super sacrificium et in circuitu altaris dicat : *Incensum istud . . .* Vel sic. *Domine Deus noster sicut suscepisti munera abel . . . in remissionem omnium peccatorum.*"

³ " Quando sacerdos thurificat oblata dicat hanc orationem, *incensum istud.* Postea incenset totum altare et dicat hanc orationem. *Dirigatur oratio . . .* qua finita sacerdos thuribulum reddat ministro et dicat hanc orationem. *Accendat in nobis . . .*" (British Museum Add. MSS 34,663, fol. 165 verso).

⁴ Martène, *De antiquis ecclesie ritibus*, Lib. I : cap. iv : art. xij : ordo xx ; t. j, 608.

The deacon taking the censer, then knelt and censed the priest, holding his chasuble with his left hand. After which he went and censed the relic known as *Lac beatae Virginis*, whether it was in the aumbry where the relics were kept or on the altar. That done he censed the other relics, the altar where mass for the departed was sung, the aumbry where the chalices were kept, the tombs of the bishops, and other customary places.

In a very large number of churches the quire was censed after the oblations and altar, etc., at the offertory. This was done at Avranches, Séez (Codex Tilianus), Gregorsminster, Salzburg, the place for which the mass printed by M. F. Illyricus was drawn up, and Verdun, all in the eleventh century; St. Martin at Tours, Châlons-sur-Saône, Modena, Sienna, Laon; at Cambrai¹ in 1507, and Reims² in 1513; at Rome since the middle of the fourteenth century; and in a large number of French churches, including Bayeux in the eighteenth century. The massbook of Köln of 1626 also orders it.

In some churches, as Lincoln and St. Paul's, London, the quire was censed during *Credo* when that was said, but if it was not, then after the offertory. At Dijon in 1767, Le Puy in 1783, and Luçon in 1828, and Paris in 1703, the quire was censed during the mass-creed on solemn-major feasts and those higher in rank: on other days, after the offertory. At Lisieux in 1752, Toulouse in 1832, and Vienne in 1784, the quire was only censed on certain higher festivals, and then always after the offertory.

With the peculiarities of the later Sarum and the Exeter rites we have already dealt on pp. 244-5.

In the later French rites, when the quire was censed after the offertory, the priest did not wait for the various censings to finish, but continued the service, so that frequently the censings of the quire fell during the preface, and is so ordered in many uses.

¹ *Missale ecclesiae cambracensis*, Cambrai, 1507; fol. cxxxj verso.

² *Missale secundum usum ritum et consuetudinem insignis ecclesie reomensis*, Parisijs, 1513; fol. xcviij.

Amongst the Regulars, the censuring of the quire took place after the offertory in the Cluniac Order, amongst the Cistercians, and at Bursfeld; and at St. Germain à Prez, Paris.

The friars censured the quire after the offertory also. It is prescribed in a Dominican *Ordo* of the thirteenth century,¹ and in the Carmelite *Ordinale* of 1544, apparently.² The Dominicans, and all the other friars do so in their present rites.

In parish churches in England, and probably elsewhere after the censuring of the quire (whenever that took place) it appears that the congregation was censured. Chaucer twice alludes to the custom in his *Canterbury Tales*. In the *Miller's Tale*³ he says :

“Now was ther of that chirche a parish clerk,
The which that was y-cleped Absolon.

Y-clad he was ful smal and proprely
Al in a kirtel of a light wachet;
Ful faire and thikke been the poyntes set.
And therupon he hadde a gay surpys
As whyt as is the blosme upon the rys.

This Absolon that iolif was and gay,
Gooth with a sencer on the haliday,
Sensinge the wyves of the parish faste;
And many a lovely look on hem he caste.”

Again in the *Persones Tale* :⁴

“And yet is ther a privee spece of Pryde, that waiteth first to be salewed or he wole salewe, al be he lasse worth than that other is, per aventure; and eek he waiteth or desyreth to sitte, or elles to goon above him in the wey, or kisse pax, or been encensed, or goon to offring biforn his neighebore, and swich semblable things.”

¹ J. Wickham Legg, *Tracts on the Mass*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1904; p. 78.

² *Ibid.*, 243.

³ W. W. Skeat, *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, Oxford, 1894; vol. iv, pp. 95-6.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 592-93.

It is a little uncertain whether these refer to the censuring at mass, or to that during *Magnificat* and *Benedictus*: the latter is ordered in the rules that regulate the functions of the two "deacons" or clerks at Coventry,¹ and nothing is said of censuring the people at mass. Yet the other ceremonies referred to, are mostly those of mass and not of divine services. At the Garter festivals on St. George's day at Windsor,² the knights were censured at *Te Deum* and the gospel canticles, but history is silent about the censuring at mass. However, it was done at Avranches³ in the eleventh century, and in other places. The remarks of Lindewode⁴ do not throw any further light on the question. At nuptial masses the bride and bridegroom were censured.

It may be noticed that the censuring of the people was individual, and not collective as at the present time in the Roman rite.

Censuring at the consecration or at the elevations or sacrings was not so common in the middle ages. There is no mention of it in the books of Sarum, Wells, Hereford, York, Lincoln, or St. Paul's, London: nor at Laon until after the thirteenth century. It is not ordered in the Köln massbook of 1626, nor at Nismes in 1831; nor does it seem ever to have got into the Lyons rite. At Tours it was unknown when De Moleon visited the cathedral church of St. Gatien, at the commencement of the eighteenth⁵ century. Durandus says nothing of it, and there is nothing about it in his Pontifical.

¹ J. Wickham Legg, *The Clerk's Book of 1549*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1903; p. 63, § 76.

² J. Leland, *Collectanea*, edit. Thomas Hearne, London, 1770; vol. iv, 238: "at *Te Deum* and *Benedictus* [the Queen, and my lady the King's mother] were sensed next after the King and byfor the knyghts."

³ Migne, *Patr. lat.*, lxxviii, 253.

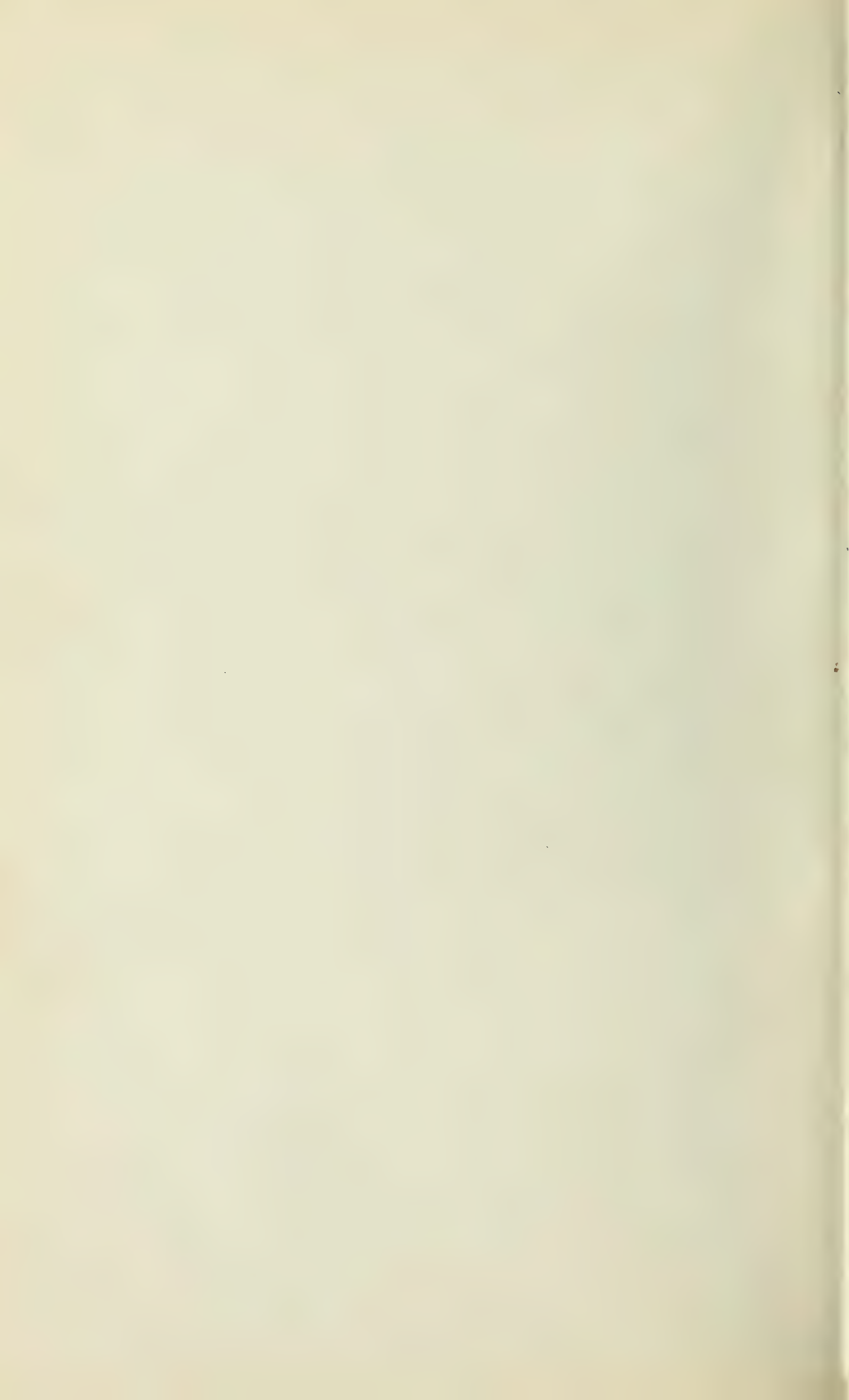
⁴ W. Lindewode, *Provinciale*, Lib. V: tit. *De hereticis*: cap. *Nul-
lus quoque*: verb. *thurificationibus*.

⁵ *Voyages liturgiques*, 117.

[To face p. 264-



Censing at the Elevation : from a late Fifteenth century
French manuscript.



[To face p. 264].



Censing at the Elevation : from a late Fifteenth century
Flemish manuscript.

Exposition, C.M. Henry, Brussels.

[To face p. 265.]



Incense at the elevation at a French pontifical high mass in the XVIIIth century.

The earliest instance of censuring at the sacring seems to be in the Dominican *Ordo* recently printed by Dr. Wickham Legg, from a MS of the thirteenth century.¹ There, on days when incense is in use, the deacon censes continuously, during the elevations after the words of institution. The Carmelite *Ordinale* of 1532 agrees with this, but adds a caution to avoid the use of any kind of incense, or of too great a quantity, that could either hinder the view of the Sacrament, or annoy the celebrant.²

At Laon, subsequently to the thirteenth century,³ two *clericuli* with thuribles censed the altar, one on the right and the other on the left, from the beginning of *Sanctus* until the Communion of the priest. At Paris, after *Sanctus* was ended at high mass, according to a direction in a MS Necrology,⁴ abundant incense ought to be put into two censers, and the altar should be censed until *Agnus Dei* was said for the second time. In 1703 the thurifer knelt on the epistle side of the altar, and censed *sine intermissione*. At Liège⁵ in the eighteenth century two thurifers brought in their censers at the preface, then went out again and fetched *flambeaux* for four children to hold; then taking up their censers again, they swung them to and fro until *Pater noster*. At Coutances in 1778, Lisieux in 1752, and Narbonne in 1778 they censed continuously at the first and second sacring: and at Evreux in 1740 during the priest's communion as well.

¹ *Tracts on the Mass*, 80.

² *Ibid.*, 244.

³ Martène, *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus*, Lib. I: cap. iv: art. xij: ordo xx. The *ordo* as printed by Martène embodies in the original various additions of subsequent ages, of which the censuring at sacring is one. It is not given in Chevalier's reprint (Paris, 1897).

⁴ Du Cange, *Glossarium*, s. v. *Missa summa*. He does not give the date.

⁵ *Voyage littéraire de deux religieux Benedictins*, Paris, 1724; p. 191.

At Chichester¹ in 1304 began the practice of censuring the host at the elevation at high mass sung at the high altar every day. An endowment was founded for the maintenance of two clerks for this purpose. Something similar was done at Exeter² in 1337. At Rome we first hear of it at the close of the fourteenth century,³ where one of the collets, or the thurifer, censed the host and the chalice at their elevations. How far censuring at the sacring prevailed in England is not known: but it is improbable that it was general, or we should have had notices of it either in cathedral documents, or later on in anticatholic attacks upon it. I have not found any.⁴

At a provincial chapter of Premonstratensians, or White Canons,⁵ held 30 April 1492, it was ordained that on all feast days, both doubles and triples, two ministers in albs should together cense the host and the chalice during their respective elevations, not ceasing until the celebrant stretched forth his hands, when about to begin the prayer *Unde et memores*.

Here again, as the influence of the Pian Roman mass-book spread during the seventeenth and following centuries, so the practice of censuring at the elevations became more and more general.

¹ *Archaeologia*, 1877; xlv, 212: "Consensus Abbatis Laurentij et Conventus de Ponte Roberti super assignatione C.s. ad sustentationem duorum clericorum ad thurificandum Corpus Christi in elevatione eiusdem singulis diebus ad magnum altare cum summam missam ibidem celebrare contigerit."

² "Tamen ad eleuacionem corporis Christi duo magna torticia ardentia et duo turibula semper pueri ministrent" (*Ordinale* fol. 108: p. 298 in M. Dalton's forthcoming edition for Henry Bradshaw Society).

³ Aug. Krazer, *De antiquis ecclesiae occidentalis Liturgiis*, Augustae Vindelicorum, 1786; p. 509.

⁴ Becon (*Prayers*, etc., Parker Soc., p. 275), writing of the Corpus Christi festivities and the procession of the Host on that day, says: "it was revered, worshipped, honoured, censed, and kneeled unto, as ye teach the people to do at your unsacred sacring." But the context shows that the censuring was not at the sacring but in the procession. Besides, the "people" were never taught to cense, but only to kneel.

⁵ *Collectanea anglopremonstratensia*, Royal Historical Society, 1904; p. 172.

The last occasion of censuring at the mass has now to be dealt with. At Laon,¹ in the *Ordo* published by Martène, which incorporates into the original thirteenth century document additions of various dates, and of which this is one, after the priest had communicated he washed his hands and the precentor thereupon began the communion-anthem. The two *clericuli* who had censured during the consecration then censured the priest as he washed: afterwards going to the precentor and censuring him. Next they censured the bishop, or the dean if the bishop were not present; and lastly the quire, one on one side and the other the other side. This practice was still kept up at Laon in 1662, and in 1773.

For other churches we have no information so early; but in the eighteenth century and after, when the kiss of Peace was given to the quire, the quire was at the same time censured. It is ordered in the massbooks of Auxerre in 1738, Mende in 1764, Bayeux in 1819, Dijon in 1767, Luçon in 1828, Le Puy in 1783, Mans in 1789, Soissons in 1745, and at Paris in the Ceremonials of 1703 and 1846. At Sens in 1769 and 1785 the ceremony took place during the singing of *Agnus Dei*.

This custom of censuring at the *Pax* is clearly imitated from the similar practice of censuring persons after they have kissed the Text, when that was carried round the quire after the gospel.

On looking back we now see that the elaborate censurings of the later rites grew up chiefly by reduplication. The censuring of the altar by the priest is the starting point for one group: that at the introit, at *Gloria in excelsis*, and at the offertory. The censuring *in circuitu*, by an assistant minister, was not duplicated so frequently. The censuring of the oblations also gave rise to a censuring at the preparation of the gifts. The censuring of the quire after kissing the Text was repeated again at the *Pax*. And even the use of

¹ Martène, *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus*, Lib. I: cap. iv: art. xii: ordo xx.

incense in the gospel procession may be looked upon as a repetition in some sort of the celebrant's processional entry.

Thus the same mimetic tendency which first brought censuring into the mass ceremonial was the chief cause of its elaboration : and acted, as it did in the Dedication Service, by reduplication of details.

CHAPTER XIV

THE DEVELOPMENTS OF CENSING IN THE EASTERN RITES IN THE LITURGY

HAVING finished with the development of the use of incense in the Western mass, it now is time to turn to the Eastern rites¹ and see what took place with them. Unfortunately it is not possible to trace out the evolution of the censuring ceremonial in the Eastern liturgies in the detailed way in which the Western rites have been treated, as there is a poverty of the necessary documents, without which one can do little. The small amount of information available shall be set forth.

First we notice the difference between the tendencies of East and West. In the latter, the sacrificial ideas are gradually eliminated, so that they hardly appear at the present day; the evolution has proceeded rather on purely ceremonial and fumigatory lines. But in the East the tendency has been on the whole the other way: the purely fumigatory use has been well nigh done away, and the ceremonial use, where it has maintained itself, has approximated in intention to the sacrificial use, which in the middle ages at any rate is by far the most prominent.

The points from which we start are, (1) the preliminary censuring of the church, as evidenced by the pseudo-Dionysius, c. 500, for some place undetermined; by the 'Canons' of Athanasius,² and the Arabic *Didascalia*, both

¹ Eastern rites, it must be remembered, include the Greek rites used in a large part of the southern half of Italy, and in Sicily. They are not confined to what is commonly spoken of as the East.

² These exist in an eleventh century Arabic translation, and, in part only, in a fragmentary Coptic translation of the sixth or seventh

of early but uncertain date, and the life of Sanutius of Alexandria, for Egypt ; perhaps, for Antioch, by St. John Chrysostom ; and for the Byzantine rite of the sixth century by Eustratius in his life of St. Eutychius. (2) The use of incense and lights in the honour of the book of the Gospels, evidenced by the seventh General Council. (3) The use of incense and lights as symbols of honour before bishops, referred to in the Amphilochian Life of St. Basil, of the sixth century, and, according to Renaudot, frequently in the lives of the Patriarchs of Alexandria. (4) And lastly, the growing notion that incense was a proper sacrifice to God ; at first used, no doubt, extra-liturgically, but later in the liturgy. And besides these it is necessary to note the upgrowth of a formal preparation of the elements before the liturgy, the Prothesis of the Byzantine rite : the use of incense in this appears quite early in its development.

The earliest mention of the Byzantine rite known as the Prothesis is in the beginning of the ninth century¹ : but that tells nothing of the ritual. In the earliest type of this service the patriarch and his clergy prepare the oblation from the offerings of the people, and then he censes it, saying the prayer of the Prothesis, which is still used. The date of this type appears to be the ninth century.² As time went on additions were made to it, both by elaborating the ceremonies of the preparation, and by the addition of

century. The Greek original, therefore, must be as early as the sixth century, and perhaps as the fifth. Professor Riedel (W. Riedel and W. E. Crum, *The Canons of Athanasius of Alexandria*, Text and Translation Society, 1904 ; pp. xiv, sq.) advances arguments for the probability that the Canons are derived, in substance, from a work of St. Athanasius. But he admits that, the conclusion, from § 105 onwards, "has almost the appearance of a subsequent addition" : and it is in this part that the description of the censing at the Gospel, and of the Morning and Evening Incense occurs. The censing about the altar occurs in the earlier part (§ 7).

¹ F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies, Eastern and Western*, Oxford, 1896 ; p. 539. The earliest evidence is the Barberini MS. c. 800.

² *Ibid.*, 539.

further ritual matter. A prayer of incense appears by the twelfth century¹: and at one time the veils of the chalice were censured by the priest² by being held over the smoke from the censer which the deacon was holding. So far the censuring was effected by the priest: but soon the deacon also censured the oblations lying on the table of the Prothesis.³ A further development was for the priest to cense the table as well as the oblations, as in the Italian and Sicilian use of the fourteenth century. By the next century⁴ the priest censured several things; the asterisk, the veils, and the chalice.

In the present form, which was established by the close of the sixteenth century,⁵ the priest reads the prayer of incense after the deacon has put incense into the censer, and then censes the asterisk, the first veil, (for the paten) the second veil (for the chalice), the third veil (the "air," covering both), and then the Prothesis. Then, after the Prayer of the Prothesis, the deacon censes the holy Prothesis; afterwards going to the altar he censes that, and the sanctuary: then the nave and people and the altar again.⁶

In the liturgy described by pseudo-Dionysius (c. 500) the bishop, before the service begins, censes the sanctuary and then the whole church: after which he returns to the sanctuary and begins the psalmody with the others.⁷ This censuring of the church at the commencement of the liturgy obtained in the second half of the sixth century at Constantinople.⁸ Possibly, too, it was done at Antioch in

¹ *Ibid.*, 543. The priest then censes the altar, the holy gates and the nave; the deacon preceding him with a torch.

² *Ibid.*, 545, twelfth century: 546.

³ *Ibid.*, 546.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 551.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 551, n. xv.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 359 sq.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 487. Migne, *Patr. gr.*, iij, 452, 456; *cnf.* 490.

⁸ Migne, *Patr. gr.*, lxxxvj, 2377. This passage in the Life of St. Eutychius refers to the beginning of the ceremonies of Easter night.

St. John Chrysostom's time, the end of the fourth century.¹

For Egypt we have the evidence of the Canons of Athanasius. The following passage appears to refer to the censuring before the Liturgy.

And with the pure and holy incense,² wherewith the presbyter doth cense³ about the altar,⁴ must he surround himself, for shame before the Holy Ghost, even as holy virgins are ashamed.⁵

The Arabic *Didascalia*⁶ takes us a stage further. After the presbyter has brought the bread and the chalice of the Eucharist, "the bishop shall bring the incense, and go round about the altar three times, in honour of the holy Trinity : and he shall hand the censer to the presbyter, and he shall go round with it to the congregation." In the life of Sanutius,⁷ patriarch of Alexandria, it is recorded that, on a certain occasion, he began the liturgy, going round about the altar and its steps with incense.

In the liturgy of St. James the offering of incense comes before the little entrance⁸ ; in that of the Syrian Jacobites⁹ at the commencement of what is termed in the Western rites, the mass of the Catechumens. In this latter, the censuring is not unlike what was done in the middle ages in the West. The priest offers incense "to the glory and honour of the holy

¹ St. John Chrysostom, *In Matth. Hom.*, 89 (al. 90), cap xxvij, v. 45 sq. § 4 : Migne, *Patr. gr.*, lvij, 781.

² Ar. *bahûr*, perfume, any kind of odour, incense. The Copts and most other oriental Christians use various kinds of incense besides frankincense or olibanum (Eus. Renaudot, *Liturgiarum orientalium collectio*, Francofurti ad Moenum, 1847 ; t. j, p. 185). Compare the "many incenses" of Rev. viij, 3.

³ Or, fumigate around (Ar. *yabhar*).

⁴ Ar. *madbah*.

⁵ Wilhelm Riedel and W. E. Crum, *The Canons of Athanasius of Alexandria*, Text and Translation Society, London, 1904 ; p. 16.

⁶ Brightman, *op. cit.*, 510.

⁷ Eus. Renaudot, *Liturgiarum orientalium collectio*, Francofurti ad Moenum, 1847 ; t. j, p. 183.

⁸ Brightman, *op. cit.*, 32.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 74 sq.

Trinity ;" next he censens the altar thrice in the midst, thrice on the north side, and thrice on the south. Then stepping up to the altar, he offers it over the oblations on the east, west, north and south sides and then thrice in a circle around them. After this the priest censed the deacon, according to the form printed by Renaudot.

The Greek liturgy of St. Mark, the chief liturgy of the Egyptian rite, places the initial censuring at the Little Entrance¹; the surviving rubrics are silent as to any censuring of the church and people. It occurs in the same place in the Liturgy of the Coptic Jacobites.² The priest burns incense and recites the prayer of incense: then he goes once round about the altar, kisses it, and descends one step, and turning eastwards censens thrice. Then he censens the patriarch, if he be there; if not, the priests, but no others. All this takes place before the Scripture lessons. The Abyssinian Jacobites³ offer incense at the beginning of the "mass of the Catechumens." The prayer of incense is followed by the priest's encompassing the sanctuary, apparently still censuring.

Renaudot gives another version of this censuring from a Coptic MS, in which, after blessing the incense, the priest censens five times, certain ejaculations being appointed for each.⁴ Then comes the prayer of incense, and again he censens the altar, this time thrice only. Next he censens the image of the Theotokos, saying, (in Coptic) *Hail, Mary, etc.* and then other images, the priests, the rest of the clergy, and the people.

The Nestorians⁵ do not use any censuring at this liturgical moment.

The documents of the ninth century relating to the Byzantine rite say little about censuring. Only in the liturgy

¹ *Ibid.*, 115 sq.

² *Ibid.*, 150.

³ *Ibid.*, 209.

⁴ *Renaudot, op. cit.*, t. j, pp. 4 sq.

⁵ Brightman, *op. cit.*, 255: at least, there is no mention of it.

of the Presanctified the priest says a prayer of incense, and censes crosswise at the beginning of the *Enarxis*, or preparatory service.¹ In the present day liturgy of St. Chrysostom,² after the Prothesis, the deacon, having censed the holy Prothesis, goes to the altar and censes it round about and crosswise, then censes the sanctuary, and afterwards the whole nave, and finally the altar again.

After the Prothesis, in the Armenian rite,³ the priest comes down censing into the midst of the church with the deacons, and censes the church and the people, and then returning, bows three times to the altar.

In the Little Entrance, incense and lights occur. The ceremony was originally Byzantine, but has been adopted by other rites. It is the entrance of the bishop to celebrate mass, after vesting in the narthex during the *Enarxis* or preliminary service prefixed to the liturgy, from the narthex into the nave.⁴ In the pontifical liturgy the bishop still intervenes at this point, being fetched from the nave by the presbyters and deacons, one of the latter carrying a text or gospels'-book as an episcopal ensign. Lights and incense are also carried in this procession.⁵ In the absence of the of the bishop the procession with the gospels'-book is still made: the priest and the deacon (who carries the book) go from the altar, by the prothesis and north doors of the iconostasis, and back to the altar through the holy doors. In the liturgy of the Presanctified, the Little Entrance was

¹ *Ibid.*, 345. But this presupposes that the same censing took place at the ordinary Liturgy at this date, c. 800.

² *Ibid.*, 361.

³ *Ibid.*, 420.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 576.

⁵ S. Sophronii Patriarchae Hierosol., *Commentarius liturgicus*, (c. 635) *apud* Migne, *Patr. graec.*, lxxxvij, 3997, mentions the censer. His words are repeated by Theodore of Andida in Migne, *Patr. graec.*, cxi, 440. Theodore is later than St. Germanus, († 740): perhaps later than the interpolations in the latter which are of the 11th or 12th century. Nicholas Cabasilas of Thessalonica (flor. 1350) describes the gospel procession accompanied ὑπὸ λαμπάσι καὶ θυμιάμασι.

made in the ninth century with incense, but without the gospels'-book.¹

Incense is next offered before the reading of the gospel, and in some rites during the other Scripture lessons. The censuring at the liturgical gospel is described in the later part of the Canons of Athanasius, after a reference to the services of the morning and evening incense.

At all incense(-offering) that is offered up in the holy place, morning and evening, especially at the divine *anaphora*, before the gospel (lesson), the archdeacon shall take in his hand a censer² and fill it with coals and shall stand before the altar over against the gospel (book) and into it shall be put for him the incense and he shall cause it to rise up until the gospel be read. Then he shall go with the censer before the gospel into the inner part of the holy place. It is not that the Lord hath need at all of incense. Nay, but men shall remember the incense of the ages of light, where (is) no hateful smell before the Lord, the God of the living where (are) hymns of praise.³

The favour of an early date for this passage we may note that the censuring is regarded as fumigatory, and not sacrificial; but the ideas are more advanced than the purely fumigatory use described by St. John Chrysostom in the passage quoted on p. 200. There is no indication of any prayer of incense, as in the later Egyptian rites, and elsewhere. The Liturgy of St. James⁴ has a prayer of incense at this moment, which occurs as early as the tenth century. In a Syrian liturgy printed (in translation) by Renaudot,⁵ the priest offers incense before the gospel, but there is no prayer of incense. In other forms no allusion to incense before the gospel appears.

In the Egyptian rites incense is always used. In the

¹ *Ibid.*, 346.

² Ar. *mijmarah*: see p. 63. note 1.

³ *Canons of Athanasius*, p. 68.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 36: and see p. 3 for the date.

⁵ Renaudot, *op. cit.*, ij, 8. Kyries and a prayer of praise are said at the time, and a prayer for remission of sin follows: but neither contains any allusion to incense.

Liturgy of St. Mark¹ there is a prayer of incense, but it is of Byzantine origin and derived from an offertory prayer. In the liturgy of the Coptic Jacobites² the prayer of incense in the fourteenth century came before the lesson from the Acts of the Apostles. Renaudot prints a Coptic liturgy³ in which incense is offered thrice round about the altar by the priest, apparently during the epistle of St. Paul: after the catholic epistle has been read in Coptic, he goes up to the altar and censens once: then, before the lesson from the Acts, he recites the prayer of incense, after which he goes round about the quire alone with incense. Later on, during the psalm before the gospel, he censens again. After the third verse he ascends to the altar, offers incense, censens round the gospels'-book, then the altar once. All the priests approach and kiss the book: then the celebrant kisses it and gives it to his deacon, whom he also censens. A little later the priest censens thrice towards the sanctuary. When the Coptic interpreter of the gospel begins, the priest turns westwards and censens thrice the gospels'-book. Turning to the Sanctuary, he censens that thrice, and the priests once. Next standing in his place, he recites some part of the Prayer of the Gospel: then he censens the deacons once, nor does he cease meanwhile from burning incense before the gospels'-book, until the end of its reading in Coptic, and at the final clause, he censens thrice. But if the deacon reads the gospel from the ambo, the first and last censings of the gospels'-book are made at the entrance of the quire. And when the Arabic interpreter begins, the priest returns to the Sanctuary and censens thrice, and says the Prayer after the Gospel whilst it is being read in Arabic.

In the liturgy of the Abyssinian Jacobites⁴ the censening begins after the reading of the Pauline epistle, and incense is next offered, with a prayer for the remission of sins, on the

¹ *Ibid.*, 115-6.

² *Ibid.*, 154.

³ Renaudot, *op. cit.*, i, 6, 7.

⁴ Brightman, *op. cit.*, 213.

altar. Then follows the catholic epistle, and the Acts. It is offered again after the lesson from the Acts, with a prayer of incense,¹ followed by anthems and the Trisagion. Then the priest again offers incense,² goes round the altar, and censes the gospels'-book crosswise.

In the Persian rite, represented by the Nestorian liturgy,³ the priest recites a prayer of incense before he reads the gospel, and then goes out of the sanctuary with the deacon, who carries the censer before him.

In the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom,⁴ of the Byzantine rite, during the singing of the *Alleluia*, the deacon censes the altar all round, and the whole sanctuary, and the clergy, the icons and the quire and people; but without going down into the nave. When he goes forth to read the gospel torches precede him: the rubric says nothing of incense. The rubrics of the Armenian liturgy⁵ are silent as to the use of lights and incense at this part of the service.

In the Coptic rites incense is offered in connection with the litany-prayers which fall at the commencement of the "mass of the faithful." In the liturgy of the Coptic Jacobites, as printed by Brightman,⁶ the priest puts a handful of incense into the censer at the words in the prayer for the patriarch: "and his prayers which he maketh on our behalf and on behalf of all thy people, and ours as well on his behalf, do thou accept on thy reasonable altar in heaven for a sweet-smelling savour." Then in the prayer for the congregation he censes towards the east at the petition for blessings, and towards the west at the petition that the

¹ *Ibid.*, 216.

² *Ibid.*, 219-20.

³ *Ibid.*, 258.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 371.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 426. They are used in the Uniat Rite (*The Armenian Liturgy translated into English*, Venice, printed at the Armenian Monastery of St. Lazarus, 1862; p. 33, and the plate opposite, numbered 52).

⁶ Brightman, *op. cit.*, 161.

Lord's enemies be scattered. In the Coptic St. Basil, printed by Renaudot,¹ the priest burns incense once at the end of the prayer for the Patriarch and the clergy. Then in the prayer for the Church, used on fasting-days, he censens thrice to the east at the petition that the Lord's enemies be scattered: then turning to the west, he censens the priests, the deacons, and the people, with a petition for blessings on them. The creed is next sung by the people, before which the priest censens thrice towards the east, and then gives the censer to him who usually carries it.

In the Coptic liturgy of St. Cyril² the priest offers incense through the litany prayers, which include portions of the Prayer of Incense used in the service of the Morning Incense.

In the liturgy of the Abyssinian Jacobites³ also, the litany-prayers come at the beginning of the "mass of the faithful," before the creed. The priest censens the altar during the prayer for the church and congregation, at the words "Arise, Lord my God, and let thine enemies be scattered," etc.: then at the subsequent petition for blessings on the people, he makes the sign of the cross with the censer over them, and bows three times.

During the litany-prayers the priest went round the congregation with the censer, as they answered the diaconal petitions with *Kyrie eleison*. Of the abuse which arose out of this custom amongst the Egyptians, the Aethiopians, and the Nestorians of Malabar we have already spoken.⁴

In the Byzantine rite the prepared elements are brought in before the "mass of the faithful," with great pomp from the Prothesis, out of the iconostasis by the north door, and in again through the holy doors, to the altar. This procession is known as the Great Entrance.⁵ In the tenth century,

¹ Renaudot, *op. cit.*, j, 10, 11.

² Brightman, *op. cit.*, 158 sq.

³ *Ibid.*, 225.

⁴ Renaudot, *op. cit.*, j, 184.

⁵ Brightman, *op. cit.*, 576.

when the Imperial Court was present, the lords and others joined in the procession, the former carrying torches : after which the archdeacon came and censed them, and then the patriarch, and last of all the altar.¹ Nicholas Cabasilas of Thessalonica (c. 1350) describes the lights and incense carried in this procession.² The present-day rubric mentions the lights ; and the deacon carries a censer on one finger, the holy disk on his head and the larger veil called the Air on his left shoulder. The priest carries the chalice.³ On arriving at the altar the priest censes the Air, apparently by holding it in the smoke of the censer carried by the deacon ; then taking the censer he censes the holy vessels and oblations.

Before the Great Entrance is made in the present rite the deacon censes the altar round about,⁴ then all the sanctuary, and the icons of our Lord, and then the people, from the holy doors. After this the priest goes with the deacon to the Prothesis, and censes the vessels and oblations there.

The ceremonies in the Armenian rite are not always the same ; but sometimes at anyrate incense is carried in the procession.⁵ When the celebrant has received the gifts from the hands of the deacons and set them on the altar he burns incense, but without any prayer.

There is a prayer of incense before the procession in the liturgy of St. James :⁶ and in the liturgy of the Syrian Jacobites,⁷ after the Sedro of the Entrance (apparently a relic of the disused Great Entrance) the priest burns incense.

¹ Constantine Porphyrogenetus, *De cerimoniis aulae byzantinae*, Lib. I : cap. j : § xj : Lipsiae, 1751-54 ; t. j, p. 10.

² Migne, *Patr. graec*, cl, 420 : Καὶ αὐτὸς χωρὶ περπόμενο ὑπὸ λαμπάσι καὶ θυμιάμασι : καὶ οὕτως ἔχων, τὰ θεσιαστέριον ἐσέρχεται.

³ Brightman, *op. cit.*, 378.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, 431.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 432.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 41.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 80.

In the liturgy of St. Mark,¹ before the Great Entrance is made, the priest censens and recites a prayer of incense; then afterwards at the end of the prayer of the kiss of Peace² he again offers incense with a prayer of incense.

In the course of the anaphora incense is used in many rites, but at varying moments. In the liturgy of St. Mark,³ during the reading of the diptychs, at the mention of Zacharias and his offering incense, the priest censens. In the Coptic liturgy of St. Basil printed by Renaudot,⁴ the assistant priest goes around the altar with the censer, censening its lower part.

The Nestorians⁵ have a prayer of incense at the commencement of the anaphora. Later on, just before the Fraction, comes another prayer of incense, followed by another prayer during which the priest censens his hands and face.⁶

In the liturgy of St. Chrysostom,⁷ at the memorial of the blessed Theotokos the celebrant censens the altar from the front, then gives the censer to the deacon who censens the altar round about, and then reads the diptychs of the departed.

Renaudot says that there are many examples amongst the Alexandrine Lives of the Patriarchs of smoking censers being carried before patriarchs and bishops, *honoris causa*.⁸ Another instance of this kind of thing occurs in the Amphilochian Life of St. Basil. This document is of uncertain origin, and probably not earlier than the sixth century. A priest named Anastasius, being forewarned by

¹ *Ibid.*, 122.

² *Ibid.*, 123.

³ *Ibid.*, 129.

⁴ Renaudot, *op. cit.*, j, 17.

⁵ Brightman, *op. cit.*, 282.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 289.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 388.

⁸ Renaudot, *op. cit.*, j, 186.

the Holy Ghost,' said one day to his wife, "I am going out to till the field, my lady sister ; but do thou rise and adorn thy house, and about the ninth hour take a censer and tapers, and go forth to meet saint Basil the Archbishop, for he is coming to stay in our house."

In the form of ordaining a deacon used by the Nestorians, when the liturgy follows the ordination, the clergy come forth from the altar into the nave of the church bearing the cross, censer and lights.² In the consecration of bishops, the bishops, priests and deacons, together with the faithful, meet the patriarch, carrying the cross, gospels'-book, lights, and censer.³ After the clergy have vested, they come out of the vestry into the nave, preceded by the same ensigns, and pass through it up to the sanctuary.⁴

The same kind of a processional entry obtains among them when the unction of the baptized, which appears to take the place of Confirmation with them, is performed. The priest comes out of the sanctuary to lay on hands and anoint the baptized, preceded by⁵ a cross, a gospels'-book, a censer, torches, and a vessel with oil therein.

Amongst the Maronites the priest goes to receive the mother and child brought in to be baptized, with a censer and a cross, and begins the service by burning incense.⁶ In these cases the honorific character of the ensigns (incense, lights, a cross, the textus) is still clear.

Unlike the Churches of the West, the Orientals use incense at almost every service : and the censuring is accompanied generally by a prayer which is often of a sacrificial

¹ Migne, *Patr. lat.*, lxxij, 306.

² G. P. Badger, *The Nestorians and their Rituals*, London, 1852 ; vol. ij, p. 330.

³ *Ibid.*, 1.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 340.

⁵ H. Denzinger, *Ritus Orientalium*, Wirceburgi, 1863-4; t. j, p. 49.

⁶ Denzinger, *op. cit.*, 329. Similarly in the Maronite order of James of Sarugh, *ibid.*, 334. *Cnf.* a Syrian order for baptism of infants in danger of death, *ibid.*, 359.

tendency, the incense being regarded as a sacrifice to God. They do this at baptism and confirmation, as well as at public worship.¹

¹ Denzinger, *op. cit.*, p. 270, Syrian-Jacobites ; pp. 280 sq., order of James of Edessa ; pp. 311, 316, Antiochene ; p. 318, order of Philoxenus of Mabogh ; pp. 319, 322, Syrian an St. Basil.

[To face p. 282.]



The Blessed Virgin Mary and the Holy Child; angels lighting and holding candles. From a 14th-century English psalter.

CHAPTER XV.

MAUNDY THURSDAY AND GOOD FRIDAY.

ON Maundy Thursday the mass had a festal character owing to the hallowing of the Oils and the Cream on that day by the bishop. In the *Ordo romanus* printed by Hittorp,¹ which seems to have Soissons as its provenance, the Cream is brought in to be hallowed with great pomp. First, there walk two collets carrying lighted tapers, then two crosses, and between them the Cream ; after these two censers with incense, and between them the Oil of the Catechumens. After this the textus, followed by twelve priests two and two ; and then the boys singing *Audi iudex*. In most of the medieval rites similar ceremonies obtain. At Sens about 900 there is no mention of either lights or incense in this procession² : but it soon became general everywhere in the West.

At this mass it was usual all through the middle ages, and still is in the present Roman rite, for the Eucharist to be reserved for the mass of the Presanctified on Good Friday : and it soon became usual to conduct the reserved Host, to the place where it was to remain unto the morrow, with some pomp. This place and the ceremonies thereat must not be confounded with the Sepulchre of Good Friday : the latter has no connection with the place of reservation of Maundy Thursday, which in the Roman rite is called the Altar of Repose. Usually lights and incense accompany the Host : but in many rites there is no mention of these.

The reformed Mozarabic rite of this day is curious.

¹ M. Hittorp, *De divinis catholicae ecclesiae officijs*, Parisijs, 1610 ; col. 64.

² Edm. Martène, *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus*, Lib. IV : cap. xxij : iij : ordo ij.

The Eucharist is carried to the place of reservation, here termed *monumentum*, by the celebrant. He first places in the chalice the fine linen veil called by the Mozarabs *filiola*, and puts the Host in this. The chalice is then covered with another *filiola*, and the paten placed on it: and over the whole a beautiful wimple is thrown, completely covering it. The celebrant then puts it on his shoulders and so carries the Eucharist to the monument. Lights and incense are carried before, and a boy tinkles a little bell. The choir accompany, singing the anthem *Hoc Corpus quod pro vobis*. Four or six nobles sustain a pall over the Eucharist: and one of the workmen of the church scatters green leaves in front of the Eucharist.¹ The chalice is set within the monument: and with it a cross; a *Missale mixtum*, or a Bible; a censer, without coals; a ship with incense; or a small bell. Then the monument is reverently censed with another censer, shut and locked with two keys, and sealed with red wax.

Other Spanish Churches had similar rites. At Palencia² in 1568 the Eucharist was veiled in black in this procession, herbs or green leaves were scattered all the way, and twothurifers censed the Eucharist continually. The ship with incense was placed in the monument with the Eucharist, and the Eucharist was censed before the monument was closed.

At the reading of the gospel during the Maundy or washing of the feet, according to the use of the Knights the Teutonic Order,³ incense, but not lights, was used. In

¹“Et sic unus de operariis Ecclesie; qui continue ab exitu chori proiciat annonam viridem subtus pedes portantium seu deferentium Corpus Domini” (*Missale mixtum*, Migne, *Patr. lat.*, lxxxv, 418). Herb strewing before the Eucharist is ceremonial: but before the King of England on his way to be crowned is nothing of the sort, one is told.

²“Herbam seu annonam viridem” (*Missale Pallantinum*, Pallantiæ, 1568; fol. lxxxviiij). Similarly at Toledo. It seems probable that the burial of the Host in a “Monument” on Maundy Thursday in these Spanish Uses is due to the transfer of the Good Friday Ceremonial with the Sepulchre to the previous day.

³ *Missale Dominorum teutonicorum*, Nurnberga, 1499 (?); fol. lxxvj verso.

Hittorp's *Ordo romanus*¹ the procession to the Maundy is headed by two collets carrying lights; a third carrying a *thuribulum*; a fourth carrying a *thymiamaterium*; and a subdeacon carrying a *textus*. The word *thymiamaterium* seems here to denote a ship for incense.

At Monte Cassino² they had what they supposed was a fragment of the linen cloth where with our Lord dried the apostles' feet after he had washed them at the first Maundy. It was probably an asbestos cloth, as it stood the test of fire to which it was put when some sceptical persons expressed their doubts as to its genuineness. This fragment was suitably enshrined: and every year at the Maundy the sextons brought it in and set it in the midst with a lighted candle on either side, and throughout the whole ceremony a collet censed it unceasingly. At the end each of the brethren venerated the relic, and reverently kissed it.

The censing at the mass of the Presanctified, said only on Good Friday in the Western Church, requires separate notice. None is mentioned in the additions to *Ordo romanus primus*: nor in the *Ordo* of St Amand. But in the latter two tapers are carried before the pope to the altar. In the *Ordo romanus* of Einsiedeln³ a curious orientalism, due to the eastern origin of the service of the Veneration of the Cross, is observable: the pope enters, carrying a censer with incense in his right hand. No further use of incense is mentioned.

Entry without either lights or incense is the more common for the *missa catechumenorum* on this day in the middle ages. But at Narbonne in 1528 they carried in unlighted candles and at York apparently there were two

¹ M. Hittorp, *De divinis catholicae ecclesiae officiis*, Parisiis, 1610; col. 64.

² *Chronicon monasterii cassinensis*, Lib. II: cap. 33: apud L. A. Muratori, *Rerum italicarum scriptores*, Mediolani, 1724; t. iv, p. 360. or Migne, *Patr. lat.*, clxxii, 621-22.

³ L. Duchesne, *Origines du culte chrétien*, Paris, 1898; p. 465. This is the only instance in any western rite where the celebrant is ordered to carry incense in a procession.

lighted tapers. The Passion was read without lights and incense in most churches, if not in all, and usually without the response *Glory be to thee, O Lord*: the treatment was the same on Palmsunday and whenever the Passion was read. In the latter middle ages it was customary in most places to treat the last few verses separately: in some cases they were read with the usual ceremonies of lights and incense, and in the gospel tone. In *Ordo romanus XII*, of the early thirteenth century¹ the collets brought incense for the gospel: in *Ordo XIV*, a century later² the collets carry lights as well as incense. The Camaldulense Benedictines³ in 1503 read the gospels after the passions in dalmatic, with lights, incense, and censuring of the gospels'-book.

In many churches there was no formal entry for the mass of the Presanctified, as distinct from the entry before the lessons: but at Magdeburg⁴ in 1486, after the Cross-creeping the priest and his ministers are preceded to the altar by the taperers and censers. At Seville⁵ also in 1507 the same happened.

The next thing to be done was to fetch the Host from the place where it had been reserved on Maundy Thursday; and here again a great diversity of method obtained in the different uses. In some Churches this was done with no special ceremony at all: a presbyter, with perhaps the assistance of a deacon or two, went to the place of reservation, took up the paten with the hosts on it, and a chalice having unconsecrated wine in it, and brought them to the altar. This was the simplest way possible, such as we find in *Ordo I* and *Ordo X*,⁶ at Augsburg in 1510, Constanz in 1485 and

¹ Migne, *Patr. lat.*, lxxviii, 1076.

² *Ibid.*, 1215.

³ *Missale monasticum secundum ordinem camaldulensem*, Venetiis, 1503; fol. 64 verso, fol. 69 verso.

⁴ *Missale ad usum magdeburgensis ecclesiae*, 1486; fo. lxxij: "Tunc sacerdos et ministri cum ceroferariis et turibulariis redibunt ad altare."

⁵ *Missale hispalense*, Seville, 1507; fo. lxxiv verso.

⁶ Migne, *Patr. lat.*, lxxviii, 1014.

1579, Eichstadt in 1517, Liège in 1502, Mainz in 1507, Saintes in 1500 (?), Dornick in 1540, and Utrecht in 1511. In other churches lights, but not incense, were carried before the Eucharist as it was being carried to the altar, as at Chartres¹ in 1482, Cambrai in 1507, Reims in 1583, Rouen² in 1499, Upsala in 1513, York, at the Latin Church of the Holy Sepulchre³ in Jerusalem, and at Angers in the eighteenth century.⁴ In others again, both lights and incense were carried : as at Rome⁵ in the fourteenth century (*Ordo XIV*), Chur⁶ in 1589, amongst the Cluniacs,⁷ St. Malo in 1503, Magdeburg in 1486, Narbonne in 1528, Palencia in 1568, Paris⁸ in the fifteenth century, amongst the Premonstratensians in 1578, Uzès in 1495, amongst the Canons of St. Victor at Paris in 1529, at Evesham Abbey⁹ c. 1300, and among the Austin Canons at Holyrood about the middle of the fourteenth century.¹⁰

¹ M. Langlois, *Le Missale de Chartres imprimée in 1482*, Chartres, 104 ; p. 17 : "cum cereis sine turibulo."

² "Cum cereis et torchiis" (*Missale secundum usum insignis ecclesiae rotomagensis*, Rouen, 1499 ; fol. kiiij).

³ Ios. M. Giovene, *Kalendaria vetera MSS*, Neapoli, 1828 ; p. 44 : "precedente candelabro sine thuribulo."

⁴ De Moleon, *Voyages liturgiques*, Paris, 1757 ; p. 208.

⁵ Migne, *Patr. lat.*, lxxviii, 1216.

⁶ At Chur the cross was also brought in with tapers and incense (*Missale sec. rit. eccl. curiensis*, Constantine, 1589 ; 176).

⁷ Migne, *Patr. lat.*, cxlix, 662.

⁸ British Museum MS Harl. 289, fo. 133. This MS evidently belonged to the royal chapel of St. Chapelle ; in the kalendar, *Dedicatio sancte capelle regis parisiis*, in gold letters VI Kal. Mai : the reception of the Crown similarly on III Id. Aug. : and St. Louis on VIII Kal. Sept.

⁹ H. A. Wilson, *Officium ecclesiasticum abbatum secundum usum eveshamensis monasterii*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1893 ; col. 89. Incense and lights are also mentioned in two MSS printed by Martène, *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus*, Lib. IV : cap. xxij : one a Colbertine MS (c. 1300), and the other of Vienne : Antuerpiae, 1736-38 ; t. iij, 390, 391.

¹⁰ MS *Ordinale* in the possession of W. Moir Byrce Esq.

At Palencia,¹ after the Cross-creeping, a procession set out to the "monument" where the Eucharist had been placed, headed by censers having lighted coals but no incense in them, and by unlighted candles. On arriving there the candles were lit, and incense was taken from the ship which had been set there on Maundy Thursday, and put in the censers. The Eucharist was then censed, and taken up and carried to the altar in solemn procession, during which it was censed continuously all the way, and herbs and green corn were scattered in the path along which they went. The Mozárabic rite is almost identical.

After the Eucharist and the chalice were set upon the altar they were censed in many rites. This ceremony was imitated from the usual censuring of the oblations after the offertory: and in most of the rites the rubric directs the censuring to be performed *more solito*.² John of Avranches³ mentions the censuring, about the middle of the eleventh century: in his *Decreta*, for the English Benedictines Lanfranc⁴ orders the Host to be fetched with lights and a censer, incense being put in the censer on arrival at the place of reservation; there the priest censes the Host, and gives it to the deacon to carry to the altar. The Host, and a chalice having wine mingled with water in it, being arranged on the altar, the priest and deacon say the Confession, and then the former censes them.⁵

In spite of Lanfranc's decree, however, it does not appear that the Eucharist was censed at St. Augustine's, Canterbury,⁶ c. 1100: the rubric merely orders the priest to cense the altar. And it was the altar which was censed at Uzès in

¹ *Missale pallantinum*, Pallantiae, 1568; fol. xcix.

² At Chur in 1589 the chalice was censed *tribus vicibus in modum crucis* (*Missale secundum ritum ecclesie curiensis*, Constantiae, 1589; fol. 180). This censuring of course included the reserved host.

³ *Liber de ecclesiasticis officiis*, § 60.

⁴ Migne, *Patr. lat.*, cl, 465.

⁵ This was the ceremonial followed by the Black Canons at Holyrood.

⁶ Martin Rule, *The Missal of St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury*, Cambridge, 1896; p. 39.

1495, and not the Host and chalice.¹ If the rubric in the reprint of the Hereford massbook² were correctly transcribed, it would seem that something similar was done there :

Postea vinum et aquam in calicem infundat, et calicem loco suo constituat, et incenset coram altari. Confessione dicta, humili voce sic inferat.

But in the MS *Ordinale*³ in the British Museum, the rubric runs a little differently, and makes it clear that the usual censuring took place at Hereford :

Postea episcopus calciatus lotis manibus casulam induat, et corpus domini ad altare deferat, et incensat, et coram altari confessione dicta humili voce, sic inerat.

The ceremony was adopted in Rome⁴ by the thirteenth century in some form or other, but the rubric is rather vague :

Sciendum vero quod acolythi repraesentant incensum ad calicem.

This looks as though the censuring was done by the collets, as later on, they used to do at the sacring. The number of churches where the offertory-censuring was transferred to the mass of the Presanctified increased largely as time went on :

¹ *Missale secundum ritum laudabilemque usum sancte veciensis ecclesie*, Lugduni, 1495 : fo. lxij.

² *Missale ad usum percelebris ecclesiae herfordensis*, Leeds, 1884 ; p. 91.

³ Harl. MS 2981. fo. 19. Mr. Dewick is the fortunate possessor of a MS Hereford massbook of c. 1350, and has been kind enough to send me the corresponding rubric in it, which is equally clear as to the censuring of the Eucharist and chalice : "Postea episcopus vel sacerdos calciatus lotis manibus casulam induat. et calicem et patenam cum corporalibus in quibus hostia die precedenti consecrata fuerit ad altare deferat. et ibi corporalia more solito expandat. et super illa corpus domini loco debito disponat. postea uinum et aquam in calicem infundat. et calicem loco suo constituat. et incensat. Hijs ita gestis : et facta confessione coram altari. humili voce sic inferat. Oremus. preceptis sal." (MS, fo. 88).

⁴ *Ordo XII*, ap. Migne, *Patr. lat.*, lxxviii, 1076.

even in places where no incense was carried before the Eucharist to the altar, it was censed after being placed there.¹ But some churches were late in receiving the custom. At Bayeux,² for instance, the order to cense is a later addition to the Ordinary of the thirteenth century. There is nothing of it in the Cluniac customs of Udalric, although it is ordered at Farfa.³ There is no mention of it at Augsburg in 1510, Cambray in 1507, Chartres in 1482, Constanz in 1485 and 1579, Eichstadt in 1517, Hamburg in 1509, Autun in 1556, Liège in 1502, St. Malo in 1503, Magdeburg in 1486, Mainz in 1507, Saintes in 1500 (?), Paris⁴ in the fifteenth century, Rouen in 1499, Seville in 1507, Dornick in 1540, nor Utrecht in 1511. The lack of mention does not, however, always necessarily mean that the censuring was not performed: at least, it is not always safe to argue from omissions in early MS or printed massbooks. But at Liège,⁵ for instance, the rubric runs: *nec candela nec incensum portetur*, which seems conclusive. At Strassburg, on the other hand, in 1364 the hebdomadary swung a censer, and two boys in copes held tapers before the altar during the whole mass of the Presanctified.⁶

After the mass of the Presanctified, or in some cases before it, the crucifix was solemnly buried in the Sepulchre, an erection, usually temporary, set up on the north side of the high altar. In the later middle ages it became general to bury a consecrated Host as well. These rites are found in those parts of western Europe where Gallican influence

¹ E.g. Bursfeld, 1498 (fol. lxxxviii verso): Reims, 1513 (fol. lix:) Upsala, 1513 (fol. lxxv verso).

² U. Chevalier, *Ordinaire et Coutumier de l'église cathédrale de Bayeux*, Paris, 1902; p. 133, note b.

³ Migne, *Patr. lat.*, cl, 1202: "sacerdos accipiat thuribulum et calicem incensat."

⁴ British Museum MS Harleian 2891, fol. 133: lights and incense accompany the Eucharist to the altar, but there is no censuring.

⁵ *Missale leodiense*, Spire, 1502; fo. xcviij (sic) verso.

⁶ Edm. Martène, *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus*, Lib. IV: cap. xxij: Antwerpiae, 1736-38; t. iij, col. 395.

remained strong: they do not seem to have penetrated Rome. Nor was the burial of either cross or Eucharist universal even in the "Gallican" countries: Lanfranc does not mention it, nor does the Evesham book. In parish churches in England it was, however, practically universal in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

In the later Sarum rite,¹ after evensong, which follows incontinently on the mass of the Presanctified, the celebrant laid aside his chasuble, and taking with him one of the higher clergy in surplices, carried the cross and the Eucharist to the Sepulchre. There kneeling, he began the respond, *Estimatus sum*; arising while the quire continued it kneeling. The respond *Sepulto Domino* was next sung in the same way. Then the priest censed the Sepulchre and closed the door. After three anthems sung by the quire, such prayers as they wished were said secretly, and they departed in no fixed order.

At York,² after the cross-creeping, the two vicars in albs and crossed stoles who had exposed the crucifix, carried it to the Sepulchre, where it was received by the archbishop, who at once began the anthem *Super omnia ligna*; and three other anthems having been sung by the choir, he knelt and placed the cross in the Sepulchre, together with two lighted candles, with two vessels *urceis*. After this he censed the cross: then, rising, began the anthem *Sepulto Domino*, and the choir finished it. Nothing is said here of the burial of the Host: but the rubric on Easter-morning directs the pyx with the *Corpus Christi* to be then removed from the Sepulchre.

At Hereford³ two priests in albs and red chasubles, who had brought out the crucifix for the cross-creeping, carried it to the Sepulchre, and washed it in wine and water before the door, and dried it with a linen towel, the choir singing

¹ *Missale Sarum*, 332, 333.

² *Missale ad usum insignis ecclesiae eboracensis*, Surtees Society, 1874; vol. j, pp. 106, 107.

³ *Missale ad usum precelesbris ecclesiae herfordensis*, Leeds, 1874; pp. 95, 96.

in tones of lamentation the respond *Tenebrae factae sunt*. After more anthems the cross was placed in the Sepulchre, and the choir sang *In pace in id ipsum*, and *Caro mea*. Meanwhile the bishop brought the *Corpus Domini* and put that too in the Sepulchre beside the cross, and then censed them both : after which, having lit a taper within the Sepulchre, he closed the door. The mass of the Presanctified followed.

At Augsburg in 1510, no censuring at the Sepulchre is mentioned,¹ but in 1555, the Eucharist after being placed therein is sprinkled with holy water and censed.² At Bayeux³ in the thirteenth century the bishop, having laid aside his red chasuble, carried the cross to the Sepulchre, another priest accompanying him ; then he censed the Sepulchre and laid the cross within it on a cushion and linen cloths. The choir sang the anthem *Estimatus sum* the while. Then a deacon brought the Host to the bishop in a pyx, and he taking it, set it in the Sepulchre beside the cross. On the other side he placed an empty chalice, a paten, corporasses, and a folded linen cloth ; then, having shut the door of the Sepulchre, he censed it for the second time. Here, as at Sarum, the Burial followed the mass of the Presanctified.

At Utrecht⁴ in 1511 apparently the crucifix alone was buried in the Sepulchre, and the latter was censed before, and during, and after the placing of the cross therein.

¹ *Missale secundum ritum augustensis ecclesie*, Auguste, 1510 ; fo. lxxviii verso. The rubric directs lights to be set on the altar for the mass of the Presanctified.

² *Missale secundum ritum augustensis ecclesie*, Auguste, 1555 ; fo. 114 verso "cum aspersione et thurificatione." *In principio* was omitted after the mass of the Presanctified, according to the rubric of this book.

³ V. Chevalier, *Ordinaire et Coutumier de l'église cathédrale de Bayeux*, Paris, 1902 ; p. 133.

⁴ *Missale ad verum cathedralis ecclesie trajectensis ritum*, Antwerp, 1511 ; fo. lxxij : "Thurificatur sepulchrum ante et post et dum in sepulcro crux fuerit posita."

There is no mention of the burial of the eucharist at Regensburg¹ in 1495 ; but only of the crucifix.

Kirchmeyer's lines no doubt describe the use of some of the German churches ; Barnabe Goge's² translation of them is as follows :—

An other image doe they get like one but newly deade,
 With legges strecht out at length and hands upon his body spreade ;
 And him with pompe and sacred song they beare unto his grave
 His bodie all being wrapt in lawne, and silkes and sarcenet brave :
 The boyes before with clappers go and filthie noyses make,
 The sexten beares the light ; the people hereof knowledge take,
 And downe they kneale or kisse the grounde, their hands held up
 abroad,
 And knocking on their breastes, they make this wooden blocke a
 god :
 And least in grave he should remaine without some companie
 The singing bread is layde with him for more idolatrie.
 The priest the image worships first, as falleth to his turne,
 And frankincense and sweet perfumes before the breade doth burne.
 With tapers all the people come and at the barriars stay,
 Where downe upon their knees they fall and day and night they
 pray,
 And violets and every kinde of flowers about the grave
 They straw, and bring in all their giftes and presents that they have :
 The singing men their dirges chaunt as if some giltie soule
 Were buried there that thus they may the people better poule.³

Although there may very likely have been considerable extravagances about this ceremony, it must be remembered that the above lines are from the pen of a hostile witness, and allowance made accordingly.

¹ *Missale ratisbonense*, Bamberg, 1495.

² *Phillip Stubbes's Anatomy of the Abuses in England*, New Shakspeare Society, 1879 ; pt. j, p. 336.

³ Compare the description in *The Beehive of the Romishe Churche*, 1579 ; a translation or adaptation of some continental protestant or reformed tract.

CHAPTER XVI

THE HISTRIONIC USE OF INCENSE

(*Religious dramas, etc.*)

THE worship of the Catholic Church has ever been marked by a certain dramatic character. This is true even of the liturgy itself; in a certain sense the broken bread and the outpoured cup is a dramatic representation of the Lord's death, and this is the popular protestant view. It is somewhat curious that folk, whose great idea is to suppress the dramatic side of worship, should regard the eucharist almost entirely from that point of view; ignoring the real and deeper truths of the sacrifice offered to the Father and our participation therein. From this cause arises the strange importance which they attach to the performance of the fraction in the sight of the congregation. But it can hardly be called a primitive idea.

In the early middle ages the Western Church began to develop certain quasi-dramas as subsidiary services at some of the more solemn times of the year, such as the burial of the crucifix (and the Host, too, in later times) on Good Friday evening, which has been already described, the service of the Resurrection in the early morning of Easter Day and the like.¹ In the *Concordia regularis*² of St. Aethelwold, which represents the reformed Benedictine use at the close of the tenth century in England, is the following account of the Resurrection Drama as then performed.

¹ They are really small operas, as the dialogue was sung, and the performers acted in costume of a sort; that is to say in copes, dalmatics, albs, and amices.

² Clement Reyner, *Apostolatus Benedictinorum in Anglia*, Duaci, 1626; Appx., 89.

"During the recitation of the third lesson [at Mattins] four brethren vest themselves ; one of whom puts on an alb, and secretly goes to the Sepulchre and there sits quietly holding a palm in his hand ; and during the singing of the third respond the three others follow, all vested in copes and carrying censers with incense in their hands, and as if seeking something, come to the Sepulchre. For these things are done in representation of the angel sitting on the tombstone, and of the women coming with spices to anoint the body of Jesus." Then follows the dialogue between the angel and the three Maries, and on the angel inviting them to come and see the place where the body had lain, he raises the veil, disclosing the interior bare of the crucifix, with only the linen cloths wherewith it was enwrapped.

The three in copes then set down their censers in the Sepulchre, take up the linen cloth and displaying it to the clergy begin the anthem *The Lord is risen from the tomb*, and lay the linen cloth upon the altar.

This liturgical drama, with many local variations of detail, was in vogue all over France. Migne¹ mentions descriptions of it in a Poitiers MS of the ninth century, a Metz MS of the same, and numerous others : Rouen, Tours (12th c.), Orleans, Zürich (13th c.), Friuli, Paris, Bourges, Narbonne (until recently), etc., etc. Martène² gives forms in use at Soissons, Tours, Vienne, Strassburg. In Austria, Bohemia and Hungary it went on in the third quarter of the eighteenth century. It was general,³ in fact,

¹ Migne, *Encyclopédie*, t. 43, *Dictionnaire des Mystères*, 847 sq. De Moleon gives some details of the old service at Orleans (*Voyages liturgiques*, 269). They still kept up the Office of the Shepherds at Lauds of Christmas at Jargeau near Orleans (*ibid.*, 217). See *Archæologia*, 1869 : xlii, 263 sq.

² Edm. Martene, *De antiquis ecclesiae Ritibus*, Lib. IV : cap. xxiv, Antuerpiae, 1736-38 ; t. iij, 500-507.

³ In some places it lasted on till the Revolution in France. De Moleon gives a description of the service used at Angers in the eighteenth century (*Voyages liturgiques*, 98). For Austria, Bohemia and Hungary, see *Manuale fratrum discalceatorum Ordinis sss. Trinitatis*, Vienna, 1762, pp. 174-177, where it is ordered to be according to the local diocesan rituals.

until the sixteenth century disturbances, and the protestant reformers in England denounced it with vigour,¹ though the fact that enquiries were made by the puritan bishops² whether the Sepulchre was set up on Good Friday, as late as 1551, shows that the drama persisted until that year in some places, in spite of the untoward influences brought by the powers that were.

The later English forms of this drama are very much more formal in character than the earlier, but in parish churches something of the ancient realism was retained up to the sixteenth century, and we read of wigs and armour, etc., for the knights or soldiers representing the Roman guard set to watch the tomb, and other theatrical paraphernalia.

The "Resurrection" was performed at Sarum³ in the sixteenth century as follows: Early on Easter morning before Mattins the clergy met in the church, and lights were lit throughout the building. Then two of the higher presbyters, wearing surplices, preceded by two taperers and two censers and accompanied by the rest of the clergy, approached the Sepulchre, where the crucifix and the Host had been ceremonially buried on Good Friday evening. There the two presbyters kneeling censed the Sepulchre with great veneration, and immediately after the censuring they set the Lord's body privately upon the altar. Then going back to the Sepulchre they took up the crucifix, the clergy and people meanwhile kneeling, and the superior presbyter began the anthem *Christus resurgens*: "Christ being risen from the dead, dieth no more," etc., and the choir continued

¹ E.g. John Hooper, *Early Writings*, Parker Society, 1843; pp. 45, 46.

² "Item that none maintain . . . sepulchre, pascall, creeping the cross, hallowing of the fire or altar, or any such like abuses, now taken away by the king's grace's most godly proceedings" (N. Ridley, *Works*, Parker Society, 1841; p. 320). Similarly in 1551 (*Later Writings of Bishop Hooper*, Parker Society, 1852; p. 129). Bulkeley at Bangor in 1551: "Wether there was any Sepulture in Good Fryday last" (Browne Willis, *Survey of the Cathedral Church of Bangor*, London, 1721; p. 335).

³ Fr. Procter and Chr. Wordsworth, *Breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesiae Sarum*, Cambridge, 1882; fasc. j, p. dcccviij.

[To face p. 296.]

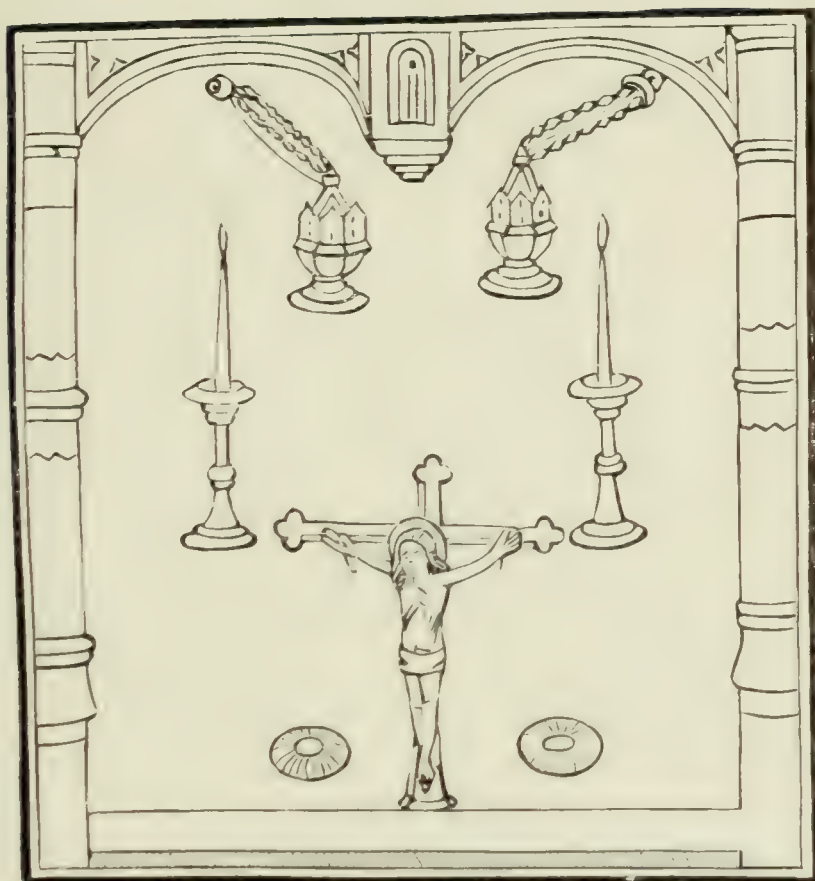


Diagram from the Sarum Processional for the station and order of procession with the cross before Mattins on Easter Day.

it to the end. And while this anthem was in singing, they went in procession through the south door of the presbytery, and the middle of the quire, and out by the north door to an altar on the north side of the church; the choir following with the taperers and censers going before the two priests, who walked at the end of the procession, carrying in their arms the crucifix. The anthem ended, the whole choir sang the verse *Dicant nunc Iudaei* followed by a *V* and *R* and a collect. At the end of the collect all joyfully genuflected and venerated the crucifix, after which they returned informally to the quire.¹

At Hereford the details were rather different.² The clergy met in the chapter house (*in capitulum*. Or does this mean the space behind the high altar, in French *Chevet*?) and there arranged the procession, which was headed by the cross, taperers, and censers. The bishop, dean, and canons, all carried unlit tapers in their hands, and all the lights in the church were extinguished, save the pascall and the sepulchre light.

The precentor then began the anthem *Cum rex glorie* in a subdued tone, as though to represent sighing and lamentation: and so singing they set out for the Sepulchre. The anthem finished, the bishop and dean approached the entrance of the Sepulchre, and the former sang the anthem *Elevamini*, to which the choir answered with *Quis est iste rex glorie?* &c. Three times did the bishop sing it: and three times the choir made answer with a verse. This done, the Sepulchre was opened and the bishop (or the officiant) entered, and having removed the amice or napkin, censed the crucifix and the Host, and then lit his taper from the Sepulchre-light; and the rest lit theirs in like manner. Next he took up the crucifix and the Host together out of the Sepulchre, and began the anthem *Domine abstraxisti*, and

¹ At Bayeux in the thirteenth century the service was curiously like that at Sarum (U. Chevalier, *Ordinaire et Coutumier de l'église cathédrale de Bayeux*, Paris, 1902; p. 139).

² *The Hereford Breviary*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1904; vol. j, p. 324.

the choir sang the psalm *Exaltabo te Domine*, until the crucifix had been set up on the altar. The ritual that follows is different from that at Sarum, but need not here be specified. The collect finished, a taper was set on either side of crucifix.

The York custom was not so elaborate.¹ According to a Manual of c. 1405 the bishop and clergy in silk copes knelt before the Sepulchre and said the Lord's Prayer: then rising they censed the Sepulchre, took the pyx containing the *Corpus Christi* out of it, and then turning to the people the bishop began the respond *Christus resurgens*; after which, *secundum quosdam*, a procession was made round the font to the chant of *Te Deum laudamus*. According to the York Processional² the priest took out of the Sepulchre the Eucharist, with the image with the crown of thorns: and the procession about the font was preceded by the lighted tapers. At the end of *Te Deum* every one kissed the pyx in which the Host was reserved.

The image with the crown of thorns may be illustrated by the account of the Resurrection as performed at Durham before the Dissolution.³

There was in abbye church of duresme uerye solemne seruice uppon easter day, betweene three and four of the clocke in the morning, in honour of the resurrection; where two of the oldest monkes of the quire came to the sepulchre (beinge sett vpp upon good friday after the passion, all couered with redd ueluet and embrodered with gold), and then did sence it either monke with a paire of siluer sencors, sittinge on their knees before the sepulchre; then they both risinge came to the sepulchre out of the which with great reuerence they tooke a maruelous beautiful Image of our sauour, representinge the resurrection, with a crosse in his hand; in the breast wherof was enclosed in

¹ *Manuale et Processionale ad usum insignis ecclesie eboracensis*, Surtees Society, 1875; p 170, note.

² *Ibid.*, 170, 174.

³ J. T. Fowler, *Rites of Durham*, Surtees Society, 1903; pp. 12, 13. I have expanded the contractions, and altered the punctuation for clearness' sake.

a bright Christall the holy sacrament of the altar,¹ throughe the whiche christall the blessed host was conspicuous to the behoulders; then after the eleuation of the said picture, carryed by the said two monkes uppon a faire ueluet cushion, all embrodered, singinge the anthem of *Christus resurgens*² they brought [it] to the high altar, settinge that on the midst therof whereon it stood; the two monkes kneeling on their knees before the altar, and sencing it all the time that the rest of the whole quire was in singinge the foresaid anthem of *Christus resurgens*; the which anthem beinge ended the two monkes tooke up the cushines and the picture from the altar, supportinge it betwixt them, proceeding in procession from the high altar to the south quire dore, where there was four antient gentlemen belonginge to the prior appointed to attend their comminge, holdinge upp a most rich cannopeye of purple ueluet, tached round about with redd silke, and gold fringe, and at euerye corner did stand one of these ancient gentlemen to beare it ouer the said Image, with the holy sacrament carried by the two monkes round about the church, the whole quire waitinge

¹ This use of an image of our Lord to hold the Host was not uncommon in England. At Wells they had *unam ymaginem argenteam deauratam resurrectionis Dominice stantem super viride terragium amilasatum, habentem birillum in pectore pro corpore dominico imponendo*, given by Cardinal Beaufort (*Archaeologia*, 1869; xlij, 270). At Lincoln in 1536 there was "a Image of owr savyo^r sylver and gylte stondyng opon vj lyons, voyde yn the breist for the sacrament, for Estur day, havyng a berall before and a diadame behynde w^t a crosse yn hande" (*Archaeologia*, 1893; liij, 16). It was also found in the richer parish churches: e.g. at St. Stephen's, Coleman Street: "The resurrection of oure Lorde w^t the avyse in hys bosom to put the sacrament therein" (*Archaeologia*, 1887; l, 34, 48). All Hallows Staining, in the City of London 1522: "p^d for a Image of Resurreccion, ix s. ij d" (*British Magazine*, 1833; iij, 153). St. Margaret, Southwark, 24 Hen. VI: "Peid for Image of the resurreccion with the plate of syluer, xl s." (*Ibid.*, xxxij, 484). At St. Paul's in 1402 they used instead *una crux cristallina pro corpore Christi imponendo et deferendo in festo eiusdem Corporis Christi et Paschae* (*Archaeologia*, 1887; l, 514). Cf. also *crux argentea pro sacramento cum cathena argentea* at Holyrood in 1483 (*Bannatyne Miscellany*, 1836; pp. 22 sq.).

² For the words of the anthem see Fr. Procter and Chr. Wordsworth, *Breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesiae Sarum*, Cambridge, 1882; fasc. j, p. dcccviij. The following item is of some interest in this connection; Christ Church, Bristol, accounts made 3rd May, 6 Edw. VI, 1552: "Item p^d to John Coke for a boke callid Christus Resurgens, iiij d."

uppon it with goodly torches and a great store of other lightes, all singing reioyceinge and praising god most deuoutly, till they came to the high altar againe, whereon they did place the said Image there to remaine untill the assencion day.

On the Continent the Resurrection was performed much as it was in England, but the details vary considerably in different places. At Soissons¹ two deacons in albs and white dalmatics, with their amices drawn over their heads, took the parts of the two angels at the Sepulchre, and two priests in silk copes those of the Maries. After a dialogue the Corpus Christi was taken out of the Sepulchre, put into a sort of monstrance, there called a Star, and to the chaunt of the anthem *Christus resurgens* carried in procession to the altar. Four subdeacons held a veil over it, and the two Maries censed continuously, one on either side. Lights, banners, incense, and crosses were carried at the front of the procession.

At Rouen² in the twelfth century the performance was very dramatic: and the three canon-deacons, who represented Maries, each carried a small vessel, not a censer. At the end, the archbishop or a priest stood before the altar with a censer, and intoned *Te Deum*.

The use of incense in this drama developed, of course, out of the mention of the spices and ointments which the Maries brought on the first Easter Morning to embalm the body of our Lord.³

The descent of the Holy Ghost at Pentecost was accompanied by flames of fire, a sudden rushing sound, and according to an eastern legend, by a manifestation of divine and unearthly perfume. The dramatic instincts of the middle ages led to an elaborate censuring during the singing

¹ Edm. Martène, *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus*, Lib. IV: cap. xxv; Antuerpiae, 1736-38; t. iij, 500-1.

² Ducange, *Glossarium*, s.v. SEPULCHRUM: SEPULCHRI OFFICIUM. See *Archaeologia*, 1869; xlij, 279. The whole of Mr. Alfred Heales' article on Easter Sepulchres is worth reading.

³ St. Mark, xvj, i. St. Luke, xxij, 56; xxiv, 1.

of the hymn *Veni, Creator Spiritus* at Terce, the third hour of the day, on Whitsunday. The details vary in the different uses: but the general idea is that some of the higher clergy (often seven, in allusion to the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost) should cense the altar, or towards the altar, during the hymn. After flowers of various hues had been showered down from the roof,¹ together with wafers of different colours, and lighted bits of tow,² doves were let loose in the church, or an artificial dove was drawn along through the air from the high altar and back again.³ Even the rushing sound⁴ was imitated, and at Calais⁵ water was poured down, during the sequence *Veni sancte spiritus* at mass.

John of Avranches⁶ directs three clerks in silk copes to cense the altar during *Veni Creator*; and notes that flowers of divers colours in representation of the gifts of the Holy Ghost are scattered above. At Rouen⁷ in the fourteenth century the censuring was performed by seven priests of the higher rank of stalls, wearing chasubles attended each by a deacon and subdeacon: and it was done similarly at Bayeux⁸ in the thirteenth, and Noyon⁹ in the fourteenth

¹ Mentioned by John of Avranches, Lucas of Cosenza, &c.

² Du Cange, *s.v.* NEBULAE, OBLATAE. Edm. Martène, *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus*, Lib. IV: cap. xxviii: § 17: Antuerpiae, 1736-38; t. iij, 546. They used to scatter these wafers during the sequence at Lichfield on Whitsunday and the three following days (H. Bradshaw and Chr. Wordsworth, *Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral*, Cambridge, 1892 97; pt. ij, p. 15). So at Orleans (De Moleon, *Voyages liturgiques*, 210).

³ Du Cange, *s.v.* NEBULAE.

⁴ See Du Cange, *s.v.* ZAMBORIUM.

⁵ Coryat's *Crudities*, London, 1776; vol. i, p. 3. After the water, wafer cakes both white, red, and yellow, were showered down.

⁶ Migne, *Patr. lat.*, cxlvij,

⁷ Edm. Martène, *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus*, Lib. IV: cap. xxviii § 17.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*

century, and at Soissons.¹ At Senlis² in the thirteenth century the dean and the oldest canon censed during the first verse of *Veni Creator*, kneeling before the high altar, and similarly at the last: for the intervening verses they stood one at either end of the altar. Afterwards they censed other altars, and the canons in quire.

At Sarum³ seven of the senior canons censed the altar simultaneously during the hymn *Veni Creator* at Terce on Whitsunday. At Hereford⁴ in the fourteenth century, seven presbyters having *incensaria* in their hands stood before the altar and did the same: at a later period⁵ the rubric prescribed that the seven of the senior canon-priests, vested as though about to celebrate mass, should cense the altar at the end of each verse of *Veni Creator*. At the Brigettine house of Syon, Isleworth,⁶ in the fifteenth century the censuring was done by three priests in copes. At Paris, even as late as the nineteenth century, a similar practice obtained. Three priests in red copes censed the

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Ibid.* They used to shower down flowers during the Prose at Mass at Senlis, and at St. Martin's, Tours.

³ Accedant septem seniores ad gradum chori in capis sericis: et ibi incipiatur *Deus in adiutorium* ab excellentiore persona in medio stante: deinde precedant predicti septem seniores ad gradum altaris praecedentibus Ceroferariis et septem thuribulis prius ante gradum chori impletis incenso: et ante supremum gradum altaris omnes simul incipiant hunc Hymnum *Veni Creator* cum genuflexione osculantes gradum altaris. Chorus vero cum eisdem genuflectendo, et osculando formulas resurgendo, ex utraque parte simul totum versum stando prosequatur, et interim thurificent praedicti seniores altare, omnes pariter deosculantes altare (F. Proctor and Chr. Wordsworth, *Breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesiae Sarum*, Cambridge, 1882; fasc. j, col. mvijj). On Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday the same hymn was sung, but *loco nec habitu mutato sine thurificatione et sine genuflexione* (*Ibid.*, mix).

⁴ British Museum MS. Harl. 2983 fol. 64 verso: an *Ordinale herfordense* of the 14th century.

⁵ *Ibid.*, fol. 12 verso. *The Hereford Breviary*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1904; vol. j, p. 390.

⁶ G. J. Aungier, *History and Antiquities of Syon Monastery*, London, 1840; p. 356.

altar, humbly kneeling before it, at the uneven verses, and three thurifers during the even ones. In small churches one priest and one thurifer censed in the same way.¹

In some of the monastic rites they used to fill the whole church with the smoke of incense during this hymn, as with a cloud. The black monks of Dijon² are required to do so by their Customary : and a similar direction is found at St. Denis,³ and in the Ordinary of Corbie,⁴ and in that of the monks of Compiègne.⁵

At St. Paul's Cathedral Church, London, there was "a great large censer,⁶ all silver, with many windows and battlements, used to cense withal in the Pentecost week in the body of the church of Paul's, at the Procession time" which weighed $158\frac{3}{4}$ oz. It was probably the same as the great silver censer⁷ weighing 13 lb. 4 oz. troy, given by Henry Barton, mayor of the city of London, 30 July, 7 Hen. VI, (1429) to be used in the said cathedral church on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday in the week of Pentecost, for censuring the Mayor, Aldermen, and the Commonalty of the City, and all the people assembling in procession.

Bishop Pilkington⁸ writes of the ceremony thus : "in the midst alley was a long censer reaching from the roof to the ground, as though the Holy Ghost came in there, censuring down in likeness of a dove." William Lambarde⁹ tells us more : "I myself being a child, once saw in Paul's Church at London at a feast of Whitsuntide, where the

¹ *Manuel des Cérémonies selon le Rite de l'église de Paris*, par un prêtre du Diocèse, Paris, 1846 : p. 236.

² Edm. Martene, *De antiquis ecclesiæ (monachorum) ritibus*, Lib. III : cap. xxij : n. xj.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ecclesiologist*, 1856 ; xvij, 199.

⁷ W. Sparrow Simpson, *St. Paul's Cathedral and old City Life*, London, 1894 ; p. 62.

⁸ James Pilkington, *Works*, Parker Society, 1842 ; p. 540.

⁹ W. Lambarde, *Dictionarium Angliæ Topographicum* London, 1732 ; p. 459, *sub voce* Wytney. I have modernised the spelling.

coming down of the Holy Ghost was set forth by a white pigeon⁵ that was let to fly out of a hole that is yet to be seen in the midst of the roof of the great aisle, and by a long censer which, descending out of the same place almost to the very ground, was swung up and down at such a length that it reached with the one sweep almost to the west gate of the church, and with the other almost to the quire stairs of the same, breathing out over the whole church and company a most pleasant perfume of such sweet things as are burned therein." The nave of old St. Paul's was 150 feet long, and 102 feet high.

But this was not the only Whitsuntide censuring at St. Paul's. It was the custom for the mayor, alderman, and sheriffs, etc., to go to the cathedral church on Monday in Whitsunweek¹ before breakfast between 9 and 10 o'clock, where they were met, on the north side of the cemetery by the procession, and conducted into the church to the great entrance of the rood screen. There they stood in a body, whilst the hymn *Veni Creator Spiritus* was chaunted by the vicars, with organ accompaniment.² At alternate verses someone habited as an angel was let down from above, swinging a censer. Which done, the mayor, and the alderman approached the altar, and made an offering.

A similar histrionic performance took place when Henry V went to St. Paul's to return thanks for the victory of Agincourt³ in 1416.

⁵ Something of the sort was done at Lincoln in 1330. Amongst the payments at Pentecost was one of 6d. to the *clericus ducens columbam* (Henry Bradshaw and Chr. Wordsworth, *Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral*, Cambridge, 1897; pt. ij, p. 115).

¹ *Munimenta Gildhallae Londoniensis*, Rolls Series, 1859; vol. j, p. 29.

² "Donec hymnus *Veni Creator* fuerat per vicarios et organa decantatus, alternis versibus angelo desuper misso turificante. Quo facto maior et aldermanni ascendentes ad altare offerebant."

³ "Pluribus ornatis solemnibus organa cantant,
Angelus a celso turificando venit."
(Metrical account by Thomas of Elmham, in *Memorials of Henry the Fifth*, Rolls Series, 1851; p. 129).

Mr. Mackenzie Walcott has drawn attention to an opening in the centre of the nave of Norwich Cathedral,¹ through which, as appears from the Sacrists' Rolls, a man dressed as an angel was let down to cense the rood.

In 1548 was "put down the censings at Pauls at Whitsuntide," and sermons were substituted for it.² This refers to the histrionic censings just described, and not to the ordinary censings at public worship.

At Holyrood in the fourteenth century, during *Veni Creator* all the bells were rung, and the altars were censed with two censers as at Evensong: and the choir was censed afterwards. This was done on the Sunday only.³

Michaelmas day afforded another opportunity of a special development of incense ceremonial. At Tours in the fourteenth century, according to the ordinary of that date,⁴ as soon as the priest began to intone *Gloria in excelsis Deo* at the high mass, seven vessels containing fire and incense were set before the high altar, in the midst of the quire, before the rood, and before the Lady Altar. The number seven is in evident allusion to the seven archangels. At the church of St. Martin at Tours in the thirteenth century four *capicerii* having laid aside their quire-cloaks, solemnly offered each one pound of incense, and each hebdomadary half a pound in wooden bowls: and incense was burnt in vessels set before the high altar and the doors of the church closed. By the eighteenth century further development had occurred. De Moleon⁵ (Le Brun Des Marettes) says that they kindled fire in nine pots which were set in nine parts of the church, to wit, at the four

¹ M. E. C. Walcott, *Traditions and Customs of Cathedrals*, London, 1872; p. 93.

² *Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London*, Camden Society, 1852; p. 56. Charles Wriothesley, *A Chronicle of England*, Camden Society, 1877; ij, 2.

³ *MS Ordinale*, u.s., fol. 102.

⁴ Edm. Martène, *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus*, Lib. IV: cap. xxxiv: n. xiv: Antuerpiae, 1737; t. iij, col. 597-8.

⁵ De Moleon, *Voyages liturgiques*, Paris, 1718; p. 132.

corners of the sanctuary, about the tomb of St. Martin, and in the quire : and incense was thrown in them at the commencement of the mass and at the Preface. Some grains of incense were also distributed during the Epistle to all the *Bénéficiers* who at the offertory presented them to celebrant. The number nine was presumably an allusion to the nine choirs of angels.

At Sens there was an elaborate censuring at the offertory on this day.¹ Five thurifiers get their censers ready, and as soon as the anthem is begun the celebrant and the ministers of the altar sit down, the five thurifers take up their station below the first step of the altar, all in one line, and cense the altar simultaneously with three swings of the censer. Then, one after another, each censes with one swing only ; so continuing until the anthem is finished.²

A similar practice obtained at Paris even as late as the nineteenth century. When the offertory anthem was begun the celebrant, with two priests, vested in white copes, knelt below the altar steps, holding censers, and each censed with six double swings. Then three thurifers took the censers, and did the same alternately all through the singing of the anthem.³

The monastic orders adopted a kindred practice in many instances. In the *Disciplina farfensis*,⁴ for the offertory

¹ The anthem at the offertory for Michaelmas is: *Stetit angelus iuxta aram templi, habens turibulum aureum in manu sua: et ascendit fumus aromatum in conspectu Dei.*

² *Cérémonial de l'église métropolitaine et primatiale de Sens*, Sens, 1769 ; pp 447, 448.

³ *Manuel des Cérémonies selon le Rite de Paris*, par un prêtre du diocèse ; Paris, 1846 ; p. 249. Presumably this continued until the suppression of the Paris rite in 1870. *Caeremoniale parisiense*, Parisijs, 1703 ; p. So at Reims in the 18th century (De Vert, *Explication*, t. j, p. 167).

⁴ *Disciplina farfensis*, Lib. I : cap. xxxiv. . This monastery, situate in the duchy of Spoleto in the Sabine territory, received the Cluniac customs towards the end of the tenth century. The *Disciplina* seems to have been followed also by the monastery of St. Paul at Rome (Migne, *Patr. lat. col.*, 1191, 1237).

on this day two brethren prepare two golden censers ; as soon as the words, *And there was given unto him much incense* in the offertory anthem are said, one of the censers is given to the priest to cense the chalice with. After which two priests in copes stand one at each end of the altar and cense the surface of the same until with the repetition of the verse, *And the smoke of the incense ascended up* the chaunters finished : and then they go and cense the other altars.

The monks of St. Benignus at Dijon¹ had a similar custom. At the verse of the offertory anthem, *And the smoke of the incense ascended up*, two deacons with censers stood at either end of the altar and censed it until the anthem was ended. The Customary of St. Denis² directs two priests to cense the high altar, the Lady altar, and the convent during the offertory. With the monks of Compiègne³ the deacon and the subdeacon censed the altar all through the offertory anthem : at St. Germain, Paris,⁴ two deacons cense, and according to the Ordinary of St. Peter by Dijon⁵ one deacon standing at the right corner of the altar censes, during the same.

In the Epiphany drama as performed at Rouen three canons dressed to represent the three kings, others of the second rank personified their attendants. Like all the Rouen dramas, it was very realistic. On arriving at the crib after a long procession one of them offered gold, the second incense and the third myrrh. No censuring is recorded.⁶

¹ Edm. Martène, *De antiquis monachorum ritibus*, Lib. IV : cap. viij : n. xxxv.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Ducange, *Glossarium*, s.v. STELLA I: STELLA FESTUM. It is curious to notice that there was a collection made for the benefit of the three canon kings. The Christmas drama offered no opportunity for the use of incense : but the operetta is of interest. See Ducange, s.v. PASTORUM OFFICIUM.

CHAPTER XVII

THE PROVISION OF INCENSE

IN cathedral churches, whether served by religious or seculars, and in collegiate churches, and of course in all regular churches, the provision of incense came out of the common funds. But in the first named, the treasurer was the person who was immediately responsible, and the corresponding official in collegiate churches. The Sarum Customs,¹ for example, in a long list of the things which he has to provide order him

“Incensum, carbonem, stramen, et nattas, per totum annum comparare.”

The Lincoln *Liber niger*² similarly states :

“Debet inuenire, aquam, carbones, thus, phiales, et utensilia necessaria in ecclesia,” &c.

The Lichfield Statutes (c. 1190) are almost identical in terms with the Sarum Customs, as far as regards the provision of incense quoted above, and so are the Aberdeen Statutes of 1256. The Hereford³ Customs (c. 1280) are equally clear and precise :

¹ W. H. Frere, *Use of Sarum*, Cambridge, vol. j. p. 7.

² H. Bradshaw and Chr. Wordsworth, *Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral*, Cambridge, 1892-79; pt. j, p. 286.

³ *Ibid.*, ij, 70. For Lichfield, see ij, 18. For Aberdeen, *Registrum episcopatus aberdonensis*, Edinburgh, 1845; ij, 45. But here these things were not paid for out of the common fund, but provided *sumptibus decani*. The church was parochial, as well as cathedral, and the dean was *rector, cum cura animarum*. Ten years later however this was amended by the bishop with the consent of the dean and chapter to the effect that such things were to be provided out of the common fund. *Ibid.*, p. 50.

Item debet inuenire incensum per totum annum et hostias ad eucharistiam.

There is no need to give more examples from the secular cathedral churches.

As an example of a collegiate church we can take that of St. Mary Ottery, Devon.¹ Here it was the sacrist's duty to provide the incense and coals. In the statutes, which bear the date 3 Kal. Octob. (29 September) 1339, he is further ordered to provide sufficient incense for a whole year at a time, or if it be expedient, for two years; the annual allowance to be not less than six pounds per year.

In parish churches the duty of providing incense and the processional lights, and also the two mass lights, pertained to the vicar, or to the rector if he served the cure himself, as a general rule.

Until Winchelsey's award in 1305 there were frequent disputes concerning the onus of providing the ornaments and such like things for the service of the Church; different authorities gave different rulings. William de Bleys, bishop of Worcester² laid down in 1229 that the parish should find *inter alia* one pair of candlesticks, one censer, and the processional cross. Giles de Bridport, bishop of Salisbury,³ decided in 1256 that the parson ought to find all things pertaining to the altar, a censer and candlesticks, and the two processional lights. The parish was to find the cross, the pascall and other lights in the chancel, and sufficient tapers throughout the year at evensong, mattins, and mass. Then Peter Quivil, bishop of Exeter,⁴ made the parish provide the two processional tapers, and the two sacring torches, but said nothing of incense.

Finally to settle the question between the contending

¹ G. Oliver, *Monasticon diocesis exoniensis*, Exeter and London, 1846; pp. 273, 274. So also at Glasney collegiate church, near Penryn, in 1334: *incensum etiam liberum, carbones* (*ibid.*, 51). Notice the curious translation of "frank-incense."

² D. Wilkins, *Concilia*, London; vol. j, p. 623.

³ *Ibid.*, 740.

⁴ *Ibid.*, ij, 129.

parties, Winchelsey promulgated the well-known constitution *Ut parochiani*.¹ In this document he gives a list of things which the parishioners had to provide. These include the processional cross, the censer, a lantern (for visiting the sick) and the candlestick for the pascall. Processional candles and candlesticks, altar candles and candlesticks, and incense are not amongst the things to be found by the parish: and the constitution concludes: "But all other things, both in the repair of the chancel and in books and other ornaments not here set forth, according to divers customs approved, they shall have provided altogether by the rectors and vicars of the places (or the persons to whom the duty belongs), at the expenses of the same."

Incense, processional lights and candlesticks and altar lights and candlesticks therefore are to be provided by the rector, the vicar or some other person to whom the provision belongs. On this last phrase Lindewode gloses at some length.

"*Ad quos pertinent.* This is said, because of them who perchance are neither rectors nor vicars. Notwithstanding [this constitution] either by custom, or by a composition [*i.e.* formal agreement] or an "ordination" [a document made *e.g.* by the rector determining the obligations of the vicar and himself and others] some provision of some things not here set forth for the necessary use of the church belongs to such persons as are neither rectors nor vicars. An example of custom can be found in the parishioners of many churches, who provide everything except the two [altar]-candles, which the curate provides. And in some churches the parishioners find all the lights of the church and even repair the chancel and keep up everything pertaining to the church, inside and out; as is sufficiently known to be the case in many churches in London. By composition also such burdens can fall on the parishioners or others, as may be seen in parish churches erected into collegiate ones, in which the parishioners undertake perchance to find or repair certain things, while the rest belong to the college. And the same can happen by the bequest of a will of some deceased

¹ D. Wilkins, *Concilia*, ij, 280. The text is not always verbally the same as that which Lindewode uses. Compare the similar decree issued by Walter Gray, archbishop of York, in 1250 (*Liber pontificalis Chr. Bainbridge arch. eborac.*, Surtees Society, 1875; p. 371).

person, who perchance has left some of his property for the use of the ornaments of some church, and the increase of divine worship, to be devoted to the same for ever by his heirs.¹

The provision of the two altar lights most frequently pertained to the curate : and hence one finds in the accounts of the expenses of obits such statements as the following, which occurs several times in the records² of All Saints, Bristol :

Item, to the vicar of the church for the time being, for his wax at dirge and mass burning, 12d.

After a wedding mass at Coventry³ it was the duty of the second deacon to "bring up the book that the priest weds them with, and also the ij tapers of the vicar's which be occupied at the mass." Once more : an inventory of the goods of East Ham⁴ in 6 Edw. VI "has a memorandum stating that the vicar and his predecessors time out of mind, found two lights with two small candlesticks upon the high altar, which he likewise challenged as his own, and had also the old wax, when the lights were abrogated, as things appertaining *ad altaragium*."

Sometimes the parish found the altar lights : as at St. Nicholas, Bristol, and other churches. More frequently they found the processional lights : as sometimes at Morebath, Devon, and at St. Michael's, Bishop's Stortford.

It is not common, on the other hand, for the parish to have provided incense, except for the consecration of an altar, before the reign of Mary I. But they did in some years, though not regularly, at St. Andrew Hubbard, and

¹ W. Lindewode, *Provinciale* Lib. III : tit. *De ecclesiis edificandis* : cap. *Ut parrochiani* : verb. *ad quos pertinent*. Two other versions of this award are given in the appendix to the Oxford edition of Lindewode's *Provinciale*. The last is the best text.

² *MS Accounts, etc.*, in the bound volume preserved in the vestry at All Saints, Bristol, p. 74.

³ *British Magazine*, vj, 264. Better in Dr. J. Wickham Legg's edition of *The Clerk's Book of 1549*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1903 ; p. 62, § 56.

⁴ Ritual Commission, 2nd report, 1868 ; p. 80 b.

St. Michael, Cornhill, in the city of London ; at Ludlow ; at St. Mary-on-the-Hill, Chester, and at St. Michael, Bedwardine, Worcester.

On the other hand in a great many medieval churchwardens' accounts there is no mention at all of incense, although from the mention of censers it is evident that incense was used. And the reason is obvious: the provision of incense belonged to the vicar or rector and not to the parish.¹

Some "ordinations" of vicarages in the diocese of Rochester have been printed, which set forth the things which the vicar has to find and what not. At Frankenham in 1347, the vicar had to provide bread, wine, incense, processional tapers and the rest of the lights in the chancel, either necessary or customary.² At Hoo in 1327 he provided the bread and wine, the processional tapers and other lights³: this was amended ten years later, and he was bound to supply bread and wine, the processional tapers and other lights of the ministers of the church, and all necessities of divine worship that do not pertain to the parish.⁴ The last clause no doubt was determined by reference to Winchelsey's Constitution of 1305. At Aylesford,⁵ on the other hand, in 1273, he was freed from all such duties both ordinary and extraordinary.

At Chalke⁶ he found the bread and wine for the altar, the processional tapers, and the other necessary lights in the chancel.

¹ Compare the complaint of the parishioners of Waghen, Yorkshire, in 1510, against the vicar for not providing pascall and incense, "ye whilk his predecessors have fown aforetyme," (*York Fabric Rolls*, Surtees Society, vol. xxxv, p. 265).

² W. Dugdale, *Monasticon anglicanum*, London, 1817; vol. i, p. 180.

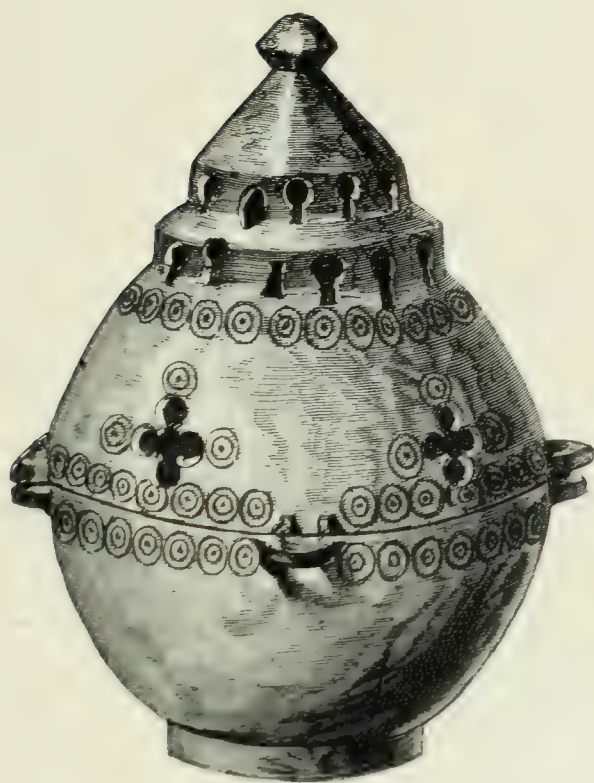
³ *Ibid.*, 181.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 182.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 186.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 187.

[To face p. 312.



Censer found at Garvock, Kincardineshire.



At Domerham,¹ in 1270, the vicar sustained all due and customary burdens. At St. Margaret's, Leicester², he maintained all the lights of the chancel in 1276, both those for the books and those for the altar, viz. nine tapers at the high altar *super herciis* on the accustomed feasts, and two on the altar, the two processional lights, and a lamp hanging in the chancel.

The last case referred to by Lindewode is where, in some way or other, ornaments, &c., are provided by an endowment. At Kirkby, for instance, in 1297 the vicar held seven acres of arable land, out of four of which, called "Mersland," he had to find³ the two processional tapers. As an example of the endowment of incense at a particular altar the following Bristol deed will serve. The altar was dedicated in worship of SS. Mary and James, and the daily Lady-mass was said thereat; but the name of the church curiously is not given, unless the writer of the deed meant "for the altar of St. Mary at the church at St. James."

Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit, Johannes de Tokyntonne et Johannes Cocus eternam in domino salutem. Noverit universitas vestra nos dedisse et concessisse et hoc presenti scripto confirmasse pro salute animarum nostrarum et pro animabus parentum et successorum nostrorum in puram et perpetuam eleemosinam Deo et altari sancte Marie sanctique Jacobi de Bristollia ad inveniendum incensum dicto altari ubi missa de domina celebratur cotidiana; videlicet, tres solidos et quinque denarios obolum quos de annuali redditu de domo que fuit Nicholai Cappellani que sita est iuxta domum Willelmi Selverlot in la Redelonde ex parte orientali. Habendum et tenendum predictum annuale redditum de nobis et successoribus nostris sive assignatis libere quiete bene et in pace integre et honorifice in perpetuum. Nos vero predicti Johannes de Tokyntoun et Johannes Cocus predictum redditum predicto altari contra omnes mortales warantizabimus acquietabimus et defendemus

¹ *Ibid.*, 33.

² J. Nicols, *History and Antiquities of Leicestershire*, London, 1815; vol. j, pt. 2, p. 559.

³ W. Sparrow Simpson, *Visitations of churches belonging to St. Paul's Cathedral, in 1297 and in 1458*, Camden Society, 1895; p. 27.

in perpetuum. In cuius rei testimonium sigilla nostra apposuimus. Hijs testibus Willelmo Sequare, Willelmo Baumonte, Willelmo Rocelin, Hugone de Mulles, Petro de Camera, et aliis.¹

Endorsed Carta Johannis de Tokinton and Johannis Coci de domus redditu de altare beate Marie [pro incenso in Redlond *in another hand and different ink*] Redditus iij^s v^d ob.

The document is undated, but it belongs to the middle of the thirteenth century. William Sequare was Prepositor of Bristol in 1254, and William Beaumont appears as a witness to other deeds of about that time.

In 1322 Bishop Stapledon of Exeter annexed to the office of Penitentiary of the Church of Exeter certain revenues from the church of St. Just-in-Roseland, Cornwall,² to provide two torches to be carried before the Eucharist in the Palmsonday and Corpus Christi processions. Hitherto, *irreverenter sine precedente lumine consuevit deferri in processionibus nove solempnitatis Corporis Christi, et in Dominica in Ramis Palmarum, extra Portam Orientalem Civitatis Exonie ex more Ecclesie nostre predicte annis singulis faciendis*. For the future, out of the annual pension of 43s 4d which the rector of St. Just paid for the provision of incense with two censers at the daily high mass at the cathedral church, the Penitentiary had to provide two torches for the above processions, as well as the usual supply of incense.

At Chichester,³ certain tithes coming in from some land belonging to the dean, called "Godland," were set aside for the provision of the incense used at the daily high mass in censuring the altar after the Gospel (*i.e.* after the offertory).

¹ Bristol Museum, Seyer's Collection of Bristol Deeds, no. 152.

² *Exeter Diocesan Registers, Register of W. Stapledon*, edit. F. C. Hingeston-Randolph, pp. 334-35. In 1338, Grandisson appropriated the church of St. Merryn, and its tithes went *pro incenso ad thurificandum ad missam Beatissime virginis Marie, in capella eiusdem in dicta nostra Exoniensi ecclesia, in omnibus suis et aliis maioribus Duplicibus Festis per totum annum ijs. Et pro carbonibus xijd, annuatim* (*Ibid.*, *Register of John de Grandisson*, pt. ii, p. 875).

³ *Archaeologia*, 1877; xlv, 212.

A learned ritualist of the last century committed himself to some rather curious statements concerning the use both of altar lights, and of incense in parish churches. He says¹ very truly, "Incense was not burnt in private masses," and adds in a note, "There was not a single censer found in all the chauntries of Lancashire." Of course not: chauntry masses were always "private masses," and a censer would have been the last thing to look for in lists of chauntry goods. On another page² he says, "not one of the Lancashire chauntries possessed a candlestick." None appears in the inventories; but this certainly does not prove that no light was burned at the chauntry mass. A chauntry was a benefice, not a place: and part of the duty of the holder of the benefice was to say mass at an altar in the church in which the chauntry was founded. An altar was seldom used entirely for one chauntry; sometimes several were founded at the same altar. Moreover, that altar may have been used for parish masses; and then the candlesticks would have been parish goods. Sometimes the chauntry bought its own candles: sometimes they paid so much a year for the use of the parish candles. At other times there were no lights on the altar; but the server held a light in his hand, or it was set on a stick in a hole in the floor.

Our author states also³ that there is no "charge for incense through long periods of years in some of the churchwardens' accounts of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries;" and in a note adds that out of ten series of accounts published by Nichols he only found payments for incense in two, Heybridge and Walberswick.

This fact he adduces as evidence that incense was little used in England before the reign of Edward VI. But as we have seen above, incense is not included in the payments by the churchwardens in a very large proportion of churches in this country, for the simple reason that the

¹ W. E. Scudamore, *Notitia eucharistica*, London, Oxford and Cambridge, 1876; p. 142, and note 2.

² *Ibid.*, 140.

³ *Ibid.*, 143.

Canon Law required not the parish, but the curate, to provide it. Churchwardens' accounts only contain what the parish paid for, and the moneys which it received: the curate's expenses did not concern them.

Again he states¹ that "In most parishes its costliness alone would preclude its daily use, while the want of an assistant minister would be a very common reason for omitting the rite almost everywhere." But is there any reason to accept either of these statements as bearing any approximation to the real facts of the case? It does not seem that there is. In the first place, incense was only used daily in churches where they had a daily high mass; cathedral and collegiate churches. Secondly, in the sixteenth century incense could be bought very cheaply, at anyrate in the towns. In Bristol² the price varied from 2d. to 4d. a pound, which cannot be esteemed a very large item in the

¹ *Ibid.*, 142.

² At Christ Church, Bristol, in the accounts made 20 April 1544 (the earliest payment): "Item for a li. of frankconsens, iij^d;" Made 5 May 1545: "Item for ffrankyngsens for the church, iij^d;" July, 1555: "ffor a li. off ffranken-sens at Estre, iij^d;" 4 May 1557: "Item for frankensence the whole yere, viij^d;" and again in 1558. At St. Nicholas Bristol, in the accounts made 20 May 1543: "ffor ij li. of frankynsens, iij^d;" (the earliest payment. It occurs annually in connection with items for watching the sepulchre till the accounts made 23 April 1548 inclusive). At Yatton, about ten miles from Bristol, the printed accounts have in 1555: "Payd for halfe a ponde of frankensesse v^d." But I think that this is a mistake, and that the sum has been iterated (by error in transcription?) from the preceding item, for in 1559 we have: "Payde for half a pound of frankencense, j^d ob." It is unlikely that the price should have dropped from 10d. to 3d. a pound so quickly. Frankincense cost 4d. the pound at St. Peter Cheap in 1555, (*Jour. Brit. Arch. Ass.*, 1868; xxiv, 262): but 5d. the half-pound at Eltham, Kent, in the same year (*Archaeologia*, 1852; xxxiv, 52): and 7d. a pound at Stratton, Cornwall, in 1558 (*Ibid.*, 1880; xlvj, 205).

At Ripon in the fifteenth century they used rosin on some days for incense (*Memorials of the Church of SS. Peter and Wilfred, Ripon*, Surtees Society, 1888; vol. 81, p. 217: *Cnf.* p. 209). Frankincense was used on doubles (*Ibid.*, 209): and incense called *Sclate-incense* on major-doubles (*Ibid.*, 217: *Cnf.* 222).

annual expenditure of a city church, even if we reckon money at twenty-four times its present value.

What the writer understood by "the want of an assistant minister" is difficult to get at. Every church where they had a sung mass had at least one clerk: often there was a chauntry priest attached to the church as well, and when there was, it was his duty according to the Canon Law to assist the curate at Evensong, Mattins, and Mass. In town churches there was always an abundance of assistant ministers and clerks. Therefore the lack of an assistant never existed.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE CENSER AND THE ALTAR LIGHTS

IN *Ordo romanus primus* there are two passages apparently belonging to the original document from which the *Ordo* as we have it was developed, which throw some light on the earliest form of the censer used at Rome. Speaking of those who await the pope at the stational church it says :

similiter et presbyter tituli vel ecclesiae ubi statio fuerit, una cum maioribus domus ecclesiae romanae, vel patre diaconiae (si tamen illa ecclesia diaconiae fuerit), cum subdito sibi presbytero, et mansionario, thymiamaterium deferentibus in obsequium illius.¹

The assistant curate and the sexton together appear to be carrying one censer between them in honour of the pope. In the procession to the altar, the golden censer is carried by *subdiaconus sequens* alone, but before the deacon who is going to read the Gospel two district-subdeacons are said to carry it.

Et procedunt ante ipsum duo subdiaconi regionarii, levantes thymiamaterium de manu subdiaconi sequentis, mittentes incensum.²

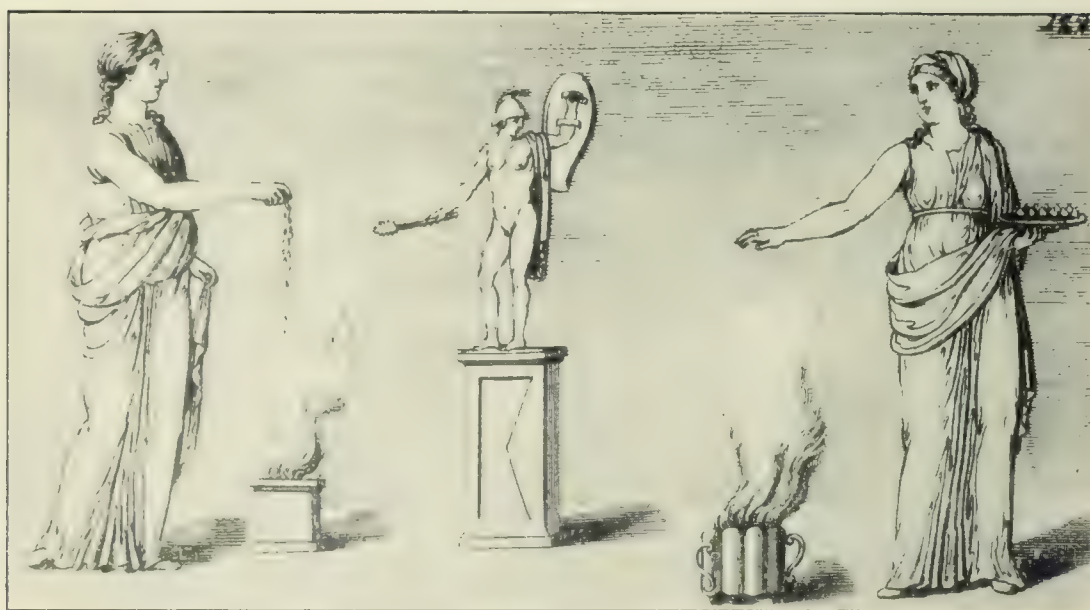
It is true that a little further on we read : *ille qui absque thymiamaterio est* : but that is probably a correction of the later editor at a time when it was no longer the custom for two to be engaged in carrying the censer.

In both these passages we have unmistakable evidence of there having been a time when the censer was, for some reason or another, carried by two persons : "Cum presbytero et mansionario thymiamaterium deferentibus" in the former

¹ *Ordo romanus primus*, De la More Press, London, 1905 ; p. 122.

² *Ibid.*, 132.

[To face p. 319.]



Pagan Roman portable altar or censer with two handles.

case ; "duo subdiaconi levantes thymiamaterium, mittentes incensum," in the second. The verbs are in the plural, and in the second case notably so. What does it mean?

The usual type of censer familiar to us is a covered vessel suspended by three chains terminating in a ring, by which the censer is held. It is very difficult to see how two persons could carry a censer of this kind, still more so to conjecture any reason why they should so do. The most plausible explanation that suggests itself is that the censer of the time of the making of these directions was not suspended by chains, but was a fairly large and heavy thing with a handle on either side ; of the type, in fact, of the portable altar figured on the plate reproduced from Winckelmann.¹ As time went on, the more convenient form, that with chains, gradually replaced the older. It may be noted that the earlier censers with chains have no cover, but as the ceremonial developed covers became usual, doubtless to prevent any accidents, such as the burning coals tumbling out in the course of the censer's swinging, from happening. Unfortunately, no picture of the early Roman *thymiamaterion* has come down to us, but as the censer with chains was in vogue at least by the sixth century, the loss is not surprising.

The censer swung with chains is represented in two mosaics at Ravenna, the one c. 547, and the other about a century later. At St. Mark's, Venice,² there is part of a sarcophagus now used to decorate the tomb of the Doge Marino Morosini († 1253), but the original carvings are of the second half of the sixth century, and show male and female saints alternating with censers. In SS. John and Paul, Venice,³ there is a similar carving of the seventh century : it is used for the tomb of the Doges Giacomo

¹ Johann Winckelmann, *Monumenti antichi inediti*, Roma, 1767 ; vol. j, pl. 177. Less good in the French edition, Paris, 1808 ; t. iij, pl. 177.

² R. Cattaneo, *Architecture in Italy*, London, 1896 ; p. 70.

³ *Ibid.*, 71.

and Lorenzo Terpolo since the twelfth century. On each side of the inscription is an angel swinging a censer.

Medieval writers tell us of censers made of gold, of silver, of copper, and of iron, and give mystic significations to the different materials.¹ Inventories more often mention silver or latten as the metal of which censers were made. It appears that at one time there was some variation in the number of chains by which the censer was hung: some had four, and a fifth to raise the cover; others three, and a fourth to the cover; others again were hung with only one chain, which one would think must have been found very inconvenient. On the principle, most probably, of the survival of the fittest, the fashion of three chains and a fourth for the cover became most common, and has alone survived in the West.

In the Utrecht Psalter² there are pictures of altars over which something is suspended, but whether it is a lamp or a hanging censer is hardly possible to determine. They hang by three chains, sometimes in groups of three or even four, but they appear in the palace as well as in the church. An Anglo-Saxon Psalter³ of the eleventh century (British Museum MS Harl. 603) has a number of similar pictures, but some of these things, whichever they may be, hang by one chain only, and may be examples of the one-chained censer mentioned above.⁴ It must be admitted, though, that the matter is doubtful; they seem to occur in palace or church indifferently, are often in groups of three, and in one case of four.⁵

¹ Honorius of Autun, *Gemma animae* cap. viij, *apud* I. Cochleus, *Speculum missae*, Venetijs, *apud* Franciscum Zilettum, 1572; fol. 119.

² *Utrecht Psalter*, facsimile reproduction, no place or date, *e.g.* foll. 9, 65 *verso*. On fol. 79 is a picture of a person at an altar apparently waving a censer (?) over it, or perhaps he is unhooking it or hanging it up. A MS of the early ninth century.

³ Brit. Mus. Harl. MS 603, foll. 9, 13, 13 *verso*, 26 *verso*, 29 *verso* 33 *verso*, 34, 55, 57 *verso*.

⁴ *Ibid.*, fol. 33 *verso*.

⁵ *Ibid.*, fol. 57 *verso*.

One illustration of these ornaments in the Utrecht Psalter represents a shallow bowl hanging by three chains, and underneath, also suspended by three chains, another vessel, much smaller, shaped like a half-egg.¹ It is possible that this may be a representation of a *thymiamaterion cum canthara una pendentia* such as is mentioned, for instance, in *Liber Pontificalis* in the Life of Leo IV and elsewhere.

The censers figured in the Ravennate mosaics have feet but no covers. The Mannheim censer, figured by Fleury² and by Kraus,³ has three feet and a cover, and holes for chains. Fleury dates it as of the sixth century, but Kraus thinks it to be two centuries earlier.

Though the censer with chains came into general use throughout Western Christendom, and in appearance much the same everywhere, by the sixth century or thereabouts, two different methods of swinging it developed, the one at Rome and the other in Northern Europe.

In the earlier documents the censuring of persons is described by words or phrases which express the action of holding the censer out towards the person censured. Thus in *Ordo II*: "turibula . . . ad nares hominum feruntur": and the phrases "having accepted the perfume of incense" and the like, to which reference has been already made, contain the same idea. "Odor incensi episcopo vel ceteris porrigitur," is a typical phrase of this kind: the same or a similar expression is used to describe the action of holding out the gospels'-book for the members of the choir to kiss it. At a later period the action of swinging the censer towards a person or thing is denoted by the terms *ducere* and *reducere*, and the 'swing' itself is called *ductus*.⁴ These terms denote a gentle and small movement: the censer is held in the right hand, the chains being grasped as

¹ *Utrecht Psalter*, facsimile reproduction, no place or date, fol. 90.

² Rohault de Fleury, *La messe*, Paris, 1887; t. v, pl. cdxv.

³ F. X. Kraus, *Geschichte des christlichen Kunst*, Freiburg in Breisgau, 1896; t. j, p. 526, fig. 427.

⁴ This is the usual phrase in the modern Roman books.

near to the cover of the censer as possible. The slight jerks of the Roman method of censuring are quite insufficient to throw the smoke towards the person or thing censured.

The northern fashion was very different. The phrase used for censuring a person or thing is *iacere turibulum*, and the 'swing' is called *iactus turibuli*,¹ the 'castings of the censour' in English.² De Moleon found this method still in vogue in France in the eighteenth century. Writing of the cathedral church of Sens,³ he says: "They cense at the three sacings, holding the end of the chains in the left hand, and receiving the censer in the right, with which they throw it up in the air: for it is thus that they always cense, as at Paris." He saw the same method in use at Orleans⁴: and notes that they censured the canons in the upper rank of stalls in that way, as at Paris and Sens.

This method is described in the Paris Ceremonial⁵ of 1703 as follows: "Sinistra manu tenent supremam partem catenularum, quas cum in medio dextra apprehenderint, thuribulum, quantum fert tota catenularum longitudo, eadem manu dextra in altum ter iactant, et poplites flectant ante et post."

Eastern censers, as a rule, are smaller than Western, and their chains are shorter. They are held in one hand only, and are swung with a long throw, in the non-Roman manner just described.

A few words on the further fortunes of the processional lights may here be added.

At a stational mass the pope is preceded by seven collets, carrying lighted candles. But besides these, the *Ordo* of St. Amand (c. 800)⁶ says that 'the subdeacon-oblationer lights

¹ E.g. in *Credo michi*, § 30: Chr. Wordsworth, *Tracts of Clement Maydeston*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1894; p. 37.

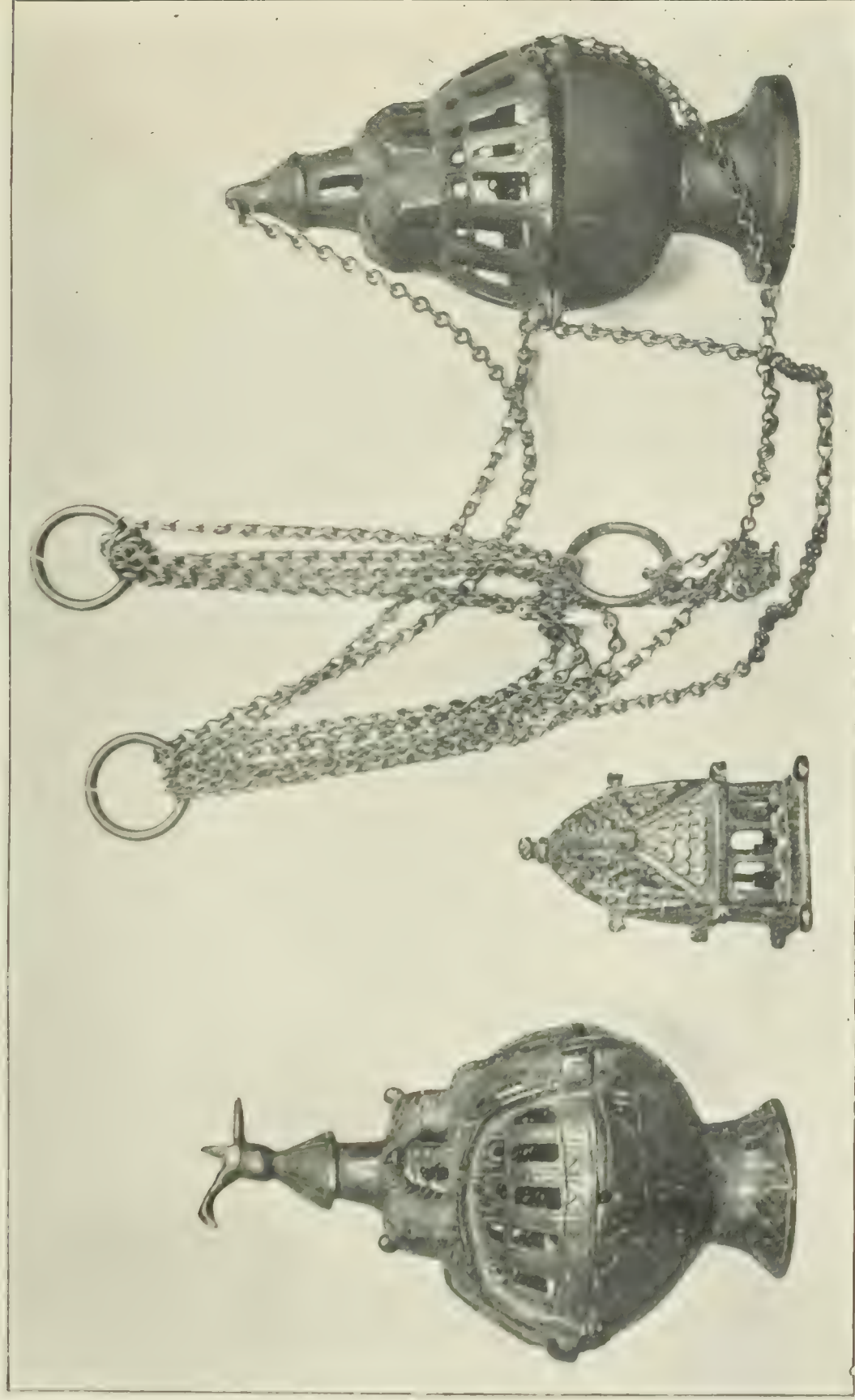
² E.g. in the customs of Syon Monastery: G. J. Aungier, *History and Antiquities of Syon Monastery*, London, 1840; p. 337.

³ *Voyages liturgiques*, 169.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 182.

⁵ *Ceremoniale parisiense*, Parisiis, 1703; p. 19.

⁶ L. Duchesne, *Origines du culte chrétien*, Paris, 1898; pp. 440-1.



- 2
1
3
1. Saxon Censer-cover found at Pershore, Worcestershire.
 2. XIIIth Century Censer found in Ripple Church, Worcestershire.
 3. XIIIth Century Censer-cover found in Langwith Church, Derbyshire (The basin and chains are modern.)

two candles, *pro luminaria pontificis*, which is the custom at all times, and goes in before the pontiff, and places them behind the altar in two candlesticks, on the right hand and on the left.' This was done before the collets lit their tapers to accompany the pope from the sacristy to the altar. On Litany-days the same thing happened: but according to the *Ordo* of St. Amand only two tapers were carried on those days before the pope at his entry for mass.¹ The object of these two candles *pro luminaria pontificis* would seem to be to light the sanctuary about the altar, so that the pope should not stumble over a step in the dim light. This is the primary object of the two standards before the medieval altars: to light the priest going up to the altar to cense it, or to say mass thereat.

In the beginning of the fourteenth century only two lights were carried before a cardinal bishop at Rome when going to celebrate mass.² If he vested near the altar there was no formal procession, but the two taperers awaited him ready vested at the same and took from the altar the candlesticks with lighted tapers. A later chapter in the same *Ordo*³ notes that whenever the pope celebrates solemnly, seven *faculae*, torches, must be placed upon the altar. In other parts of the West the two lights on the altar were established on the altar as early as the twelfth century. There can be no doubt that the papal seven, and the ordinary two lights, were merely the collets' candles, which they brought in, and set down on the pavement at first: then, at a later date, set them on the altar. When a procession occurred they took them off the altar again and carried them about. In course of time it was thought suitable to duplicate these lights: and so there were seven, or two, set on the altar, and reserved for that purpose only; and another set of seven, or two, kept for the processional entry and exit. So, too, the processional cross was set amongst

¹ *Ibid.*, 457.

² *Ordo romanus XIV*; Mabillon, *Museum italicum*, ij, 295. Migne, *Patr. lat.*, lxxvii, 1159.

³ Mabillon, 327. Migne, 1163.

the lights on the altar¹: in course of time this, too, was duplicated, and one kept for the altar and another for processional use. In England the custom of using the same cross for both purposes was general in all parish churches throughout the later middle ages.

The use of the word *faculae* in this, apparently the earliest instance of the seven papal lights on the altar, is further evidence of this double use of the collets' tapers: for *facula* means a torch, a light carried in the hand rather than a stationary light.

A similar tendency is observable in the use of the two collets' tapers, which in the later middle ages, after the first reduplication to form the altar-lights, were set on the pavement before the altar. But even before the Pian Reform, these tapers were no longer set there at Rome, but removed to the credence, there to stand during mass.² It is almost an exact repetition of what occurred in the evolution of the altar-lights.

On Wednesdays in Lent at Sarum the procession went to the altar of St. Martin, and at the end of the respond, all made prostration, the taperers first setting their tapers on the altar.³ At the Brigettine house of Syon a similar practice obtained on some days: the altar-candles were also used for processional purposes.⁴ This was probably very common in parish churches in England in the later middle ages. Thus at St. Christopher le Stocks, London,⁵ in 1488 there were "ij candlesticks of a suit to set on smaller tapers

¹ Mabillon, 370. Migne, 1217.

² In plano presbyterii credentia pro celebrante cum duobus candelabris, calice . . . duo intorcia alba etc. (*Diarium Johannis Burchardi*, 26 March, 1494, ap. Achille Gennarelli, *Gli Scrittori e i monumenti della Storia italiana*, Firenze, 1854; p. 280.

³ Chr. Wordsworth, *Ceremonies and processions of the cathedral Church of Salisbury*, Cambridge, 1901; p. 65: "ceroferarijs, cereis interim super altare dimissis."

⁴ G. J. Aungier, *History and Antiquities of Syon Monastery*, Westminster, 1840; pp. 275, 342.

⁵ *Archaeologia*, 1880; xlv, 112.

[than those in the standards] upon the altars, and to bear tapers upon, of laton."

In the fifth of the *Ordines romani* published by Mabillon, it is recorded that either seven, or five, or three tapers were carried in by the collets before the celebrant: the number being determined by the number of the deacons and subdeacons, and the numbers of these were presumably settled by the rank of the feast or day. If the theory of the origin of altar-lights which has been advanced above be correct, we ought to find some churches where a similar variation in the number of the altar lights obtained. And this is just what we do find. At Chichester Cathedral Church¹ seven candles were lit upon the high altar on feasts of the first rank, five on feasts of the second and third, and three on those of the fourth rank and ferials. At Lincoln² they set five tapers on the high altar on principal feasts, on doubles three, and on ferials one (but two at mass), besides the two before the altar. At St. David's on double feasts, at the high altar they lit fourteen tapers, on feasts of nine lessons seven, and on simples and ferials three.³ In all these cases it was only the high altar whereat more than two lights were lit: that is, where the principal mass of the day was said, by the principal person of the church or his deputy. No doubt, if one searched the statutes of cathedral and collegiate churches on the Continent, further instances would be found.

At Rome the difference of the number of altar-lights was determined by the rank of the celebrant, and not as in England and elsewhere by the rank of the feast. And the same difference of occasion of variation is to be found in

¹ *Archæologia*, 1877; xlv, 165-6.

² H. Bradshaw and Chr. Wordsworth, *Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral*, Cambridge, 1892-97; pt. i, pp. 288-89.

³ British Museum Harl. MS 1249, pp. 5, 6. A late transcript of the Menevian Statutes. "Solent autem Luminaria hactenus haberi in Ecclesia menevensa in forma subscripta videlicet in ffeſto duplici xiiij Cerei in ffeſto novem Lectionum vij Cerei in profestis diebus tres Cerei ad magnum Altare ardentes singulis Cereis singulas libras Cerae continentibus."

the Gallicanised *Ordo romanus* and the true Roman *Ordo* respectively as regards the processional lights carried in before the celebrant.

At a later time six lights were allowed to Cardinals and other Roman prelates and seven to the Pope. Christopher Marcellus directs this in his *Ceremonial*,¹ which represents the use of the Roman Church at the close of the fifteenth century. But it is worthy of note that, in the edition of his work which was first printed at Venice in 1516, although the Pope when celebrating should have, according to the text, seven lights before him on the altar, the artist who drew the pictures which illustrate it knew so little of the custom that he puts only two lights on the altar at which he represents a Pope officiating.

The earliest instance of the use of six lighted candles on the altar that is known is at the Court of the antipope, Benedict XIII, abiding at or near Davona²; and is dated Whitsun Eve, 29 May 1406. After that we do not seem to meet with it until the end of the century in the Diary of John Burchardt, of more fame than reputation, under the

¹ Christophorus Marcellus, *Rituum ecclesiasticorum sive sacrarum ceremoniarum SS. Romanae ecclesiae Libri tres*, Coloniae Agrippinae, 1557; foll. 303, 304 (Lib. III: sect. v: cap. 5): "Super altare dum diuina peraguntur, siue Cardinalis, siue alius praelatus celebret, candelabra sex super altare, super credentiam vero duo cum luminaribus semper habentur. . . . Si Papa celebret, super altare candelabra septem ardent, super credentiam duo." Apparently the real author of this book was Aug. Patr. Piccolomini, c. 1488, assisted by John Burchardt (*Museum ital.*, ij, 584 sq.). But the use of six lights was not firmly established even then: Paris de Grassis, *De ceremoniis cardinalium et episcopum in eorum diaecesibus*, Venetiis, 1582; fol. 25 verso (Lib. I: cap. xxxi): "Item candelabra septem ad plus, sed non pauciora quam sex."

²L. A. Muratori, *Rerum italicarum scriptores*, Mediolani, 1734; t. iij, pars altera, col. 782 D, E: "Antepenultima die dicti mensis Maij, et die Sabbati 29 Maij 1406, in vigilia Pentecostis, Dominus noster indutus mantello hora quasi tertia audivit Officium seu Missam dictae Vigiliae in tinello domus suae, in quo erat altare paratum; et Capellanus Capellae faciens Officium erat indutus vestimentis quadragesimalibus, etiam casula; et erant candela sex super altare, sed non accensae."

year 1493 : "Feria tertia, xij martij, festum S. Gregorii Papae . . . in ecclesia sua Sanctorum Iohannis et Pauli . . . altare paratum fuit more debito, cum sex candelabris, et cruce medio." And again in 1494 in a church unnamed : "Feria quarta maioris hebdomadae xxvj dicti mensis martij. . . . Altare paratum fuit ferialiter cum sex candelabris."

All things considered, then, it would seem that the use of six lights upon the altar was, originally, a peculiarly local custom of the papal *Curia* ; reserved for the use of cardinals and prelates to distinguish them from the Pope on the one hand, and the ordinary priest on the other. Burchardt, it may be noticed, describes the six lights, not by his usual phrases *more consueto* or *more solito*, but *more debito*. It may be inferred from this that this use of six lights was still more or less of a novelty in his day, and that they were what he considered ought to be the custom and not what generally was.

CHAPTER XIX

INCENSE DURING THE REIGNS OF EDWARD VI, AND ELIZABETH, IN ENGLAND

THE death of Henry VIII and the accession of Edward VI marks the beginning of a movement which nearly destroyed the Church in England. It cannot be too clearly understood that from the first the Protector Somerset and his tools had one definite aim: to reduce religion in England to the level of continental Protestantism, and incidentally to possess themselves of as large a proportion of the lands and treasures of the churches as they conveniently could. If the people could be induced to put up with the bare forms of worship that found favour with the Reformed Churches of Switzerland, all the valuable plate and vestments could be disposed of to the advantage of the lords of the Council, and to God's glory. To this end a systematic campaign was carried out. Ribalds, mockers of holy things, and scoffers at the old beliefs, were encouraged to the top of their bent. If circumstances compelled the Council to make an appearance of restraint upon such blasphemers, they took good care to make it a mockery and an empty threat. The crusade was conducted by means of three P's, as Foxe tells us: Preachers, the Press, and the Play.¹ No one was allowed to preach after July, 1547, who was not of the new opinions. The country was flooded with blasphemous books denouncing the mass and the doctrine of the Sacrament²:

¹ J. Foxe, *Actes and Monuments*, London, 1583; p. 1343.

² N. Pocock in *Church Quarterly Review*, 1893; vol. xxv, pp. 33 sq. gives a valuable series of extracts from a number of these books. *Academy* 1879; vol. xv, pp. 543 sq. *English Historical Review*, July, 1895; p. 423.

such books were publicly printed and allowed to issue, although the Council had complete control of the printing presses. The players were unchecked, save for a few months in the latter part of 1549, until Mary came to the throne.

An analysis of the published opinions of the chief actors in this outrage only adds confirmatory evidence of the plot. This is not the place to set out the evidence, but the chief outlines of it may be read in a paper printed in *Essays on Ceremonial*,³ to which the reader may be directed.

It is most important to realise this, when the question of what ornaments were legally in use in the reign of Edward VI, both before and under the first Prayer-book is being discussed. Knowing what the intentions of the reforming party were, we must ignore them when the interpretation of the rubrics comes up, and take the words to mean what they say and no more: for, as Butzer¹ wrote to the ministers at Strassburg, such things as vestments, candles and the chrism were only intended "to be retained for a time, lest the people, not yet having learned Christ should be deterred by too extensive innovations from embracing his religion."

Butzer was at this time, 26 April 1549, a guest of Cranmer's at Lambeth Palace: and he was one of a crowd of foreigners invited over here to carry out the "reformation" which the authorities designed, and to do which they could not get educated Englishmen.

With these preliminary remarks we can pass on to the consideration of the use of incense during Edward's reign, or, rather, of the changes, if any, which were made in the former use. In all the official documents of this reign, there is only one reference to the use of incense: and that is in the third injunction of 1547, which orders that such images as were "abused with pilgrimage or offering of anything made thereunto, or shall be hereafter censed unto"

³ *Essays on Ceremonial*, by various authors, Library of Liturgiology and Ecclesiology for English Readers, edited by Vernon Staley, London, 1904; vol. iij, pp. 207 sq.

¹ *Original Letters*, Parker Society, 1847; ij, 535-36.

should be taken down and destroyed. The Proclamation of 6 February 1547-48 prohibits in redundant language any change in any order rite or ceremony commonly used and frequented in the Church of England, and not commanded to be left undone by Henry VIII: and the *Order of the Communion* of March, 1548, forbids the varying of any other rite or ceremony in the mass except what is therein set forth, until other order shall be provided; and says nothing at all about censuring. No change, therefore, was made, up to the introduction of the first Act of Uniformity.

There is not one word of *incense* or *censing* throughout the whole of the Prayer-book of 1549, either by way of prohibition or the reverse: so that the question of its legality must rest on inference from general phraseology, the presence or absence of times for its use, and the like.

It is generally admitted that if the use of incense was legal under the first Act of Uniformity, nothing has been done since to make it illegal.¹ The two archbishops who presided at the Lambeth Hearing gave a contrary opinion: but the lawyers appear to be agreed that 1549 is the crucial period.

The arguments against there having been any legal use of incense under the first Prayer-book may be summarised as follows.² The effect of the Act and the Book together is (1) to establish a uniform order of rite and ceremony instead of divers uses: (2) it is to abolish all ceremonies not mentioned: and (3) it is to explain the ceremonies that were retained. Further; not only is all mention of incense omitted, but the whole context in which incense is used is left out at each of the three points where it was used in the Sarum books. Also, it is argued that the evidence of usage shows that incense was used up to the introduction of the first Prayer-book and then disappears: that it was revived again under Mary, and again dropped under Elizabeth.

¹ *Church Quarterly Review*, July 1899, p. 291. It is an open secret that the article was written by one of the counsel engaged in opposing the case for incense.

² *Case against Incense*, 53.

Lastly, that the Reformers objected to the use of incense, and considered it not to be a use of the Primitive Church, which was their ostensible standard of reform.

In the arguments against the lawfulness of the use of incense at the Lambeth Hearing it was submitted¹ that, the intention of the Act and the Book being to establish "one uniform Rite and Order," the *Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church* prohibits all ceremonies not prescribed in the book. But is there not a fallacy here? There is more than one meaning to the word *ceremony*; and in this argument the word is not used in the same sense in the two places, which surely vitiates the reasoning. In the Book and the Act the word *Ceremony* is always placed in connection with the word *Rite*; and the obvious meaning is, not a ceremony in the more restricted sense of an act of ceremonial, "an action or act in which material objects may or may not be used," but a ceremony in the larger sense of the word, which still obtains amongst us when we speak of the ceremony of Baptism, of Marriage and so on. The words *other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church* cannot, surely, be taken otherwise than as a description of the rest of the services in the Book, which are not included in the former part of the title, *of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments*: to wit, (Confirmation? Matrimony? Orders?) Visitation of the Sick, Burial, Purification of Women after Childbirth, and the Communion Service.²

At the end of the Book there is a disquisition on "Ceremonies, why some be abolished and some retained"; in the course of which occurs the following reference to St. Austin of Hippo:—

¹ *The Case against Incense*, London, 1899; pp. 28, 30.

² *Cnf.* Homily of Common Prayer (Elizabethan): "And although there are retained by the order of the Church of England, besides these two, certain other rites and ceremonies about the institution of ministers in the Church, matrimony, confirmation of children, . . . and likewise for the visitation of the sick; yet no man etc., etc."

Some are put away, because the great excesse and multytude of them hathe so encreased in these latter dayes, that the burden of them was intollerable: wherof saincte Augustine in hys tyme complayned, that they were growen to suche a noumbre: that the state of christian people was in a wurse case (concernyng that matter) then were the Jewes. And he counsayled that suche yocke and burden should be taken awaye: as tyme woulde serve quietly to doe it.

The passage which is here cited comes from St. Austin's answer *ad inquisitiones Ianuarii*, which is the 56th letter in the Benedictine edition.¹ He has been discussing why the anniversary of the Lord's Passion is not always kept annually on the same day of the year, as for instance the anniversary day of his Birth is: next, he goes on to some insane notions of the Manichees about the moon: thirdly, what observation of days is blameable, apropos of Gal. iv, 11: then he remarks on the fact that the sun is in Aries at Easter: after which he discusses the mystery of the Sabbath, and the use of allegories: sixthly, he has something to say about the keeping of Easter, and the forty days' fast before, and the use of *Alleluia* during the fifty days after: ninthly, he treats of standing on Sundays and during Easter-tide at prayers: tenthly, he discusses the custom of washing the feet, which some will not receive lest it should seem to pertain to Baptism; and lastly, of various customs, such as singing hymns and psalms.

The class of things of which St. Austin here treats shows that he had in his mind the larger sense of the word "Ceremony": and hence that, when the compilers of the first Prayer-book quoted him, they meant the same, and that the "Ceremonies" abolished were of a similar class, such as the use of holy-water, holy-bread, the sepulchre, the pascall and its consecration, services for various days formerly kept, but abrogated in 1549, and so on. Unfortunately for this argument, which otherwise would be fairly conclusive, it presupposes that the Reformers were acquainted with the works of the Fathers as a whole; and of this we have not

¹ *Opera omnia*, Antwerpiae, 1700-02; t. ij, 105 sq.

only no evidence, but small reason to believe that they had ever read anything of them beyond the extracts which Gratian incorporated in his *Decretum*. The popular opinion is, no doubt, that the Reformers were learned men of wide and deep reading ; and as a proof of this we are often referred to the large way in which they cite the Fathers. But after going into the matter with some care, one has to recognise that whenever they do quote any Father or Council, it seems always from Gratian's *Decretum*, and never as a result of their own reading of their author's works. In the particular case before us, the cited passage is given by Gratian in the first part of the *Decretum*, distinctio xij, cap. xij, *Omnia talia* ; which also contains the sentence : *ubi facultas tribuitur, sine ulla dubitatione resecenda existimo*. One must therefore conclude that the compilers were men of second-hand knowledge, and had not studied the context of St Austin's complaint : and, therefore, that the original meaning of the passage cannot be used to show the meaning in which the word " Ceremony " was used in 1549. It has been necessary to say as much as this, because this argument has been used ; and an unsafe argument is apt to recoil on those who use it. It all comes from not recognising the unwelcome fact that the reformers were not men of learning at all, but men of the New Learning : a very different matter.

An expression more to the point may be found in the discourse prepared for a public conference at Westminster in the beginning of Elizabeth's reign. The question to be debated was whether a particular church hath authority to institute, change, and abrogate, ceremonies and rites in the Church, so that it be to edify. - And so they wisely begin by defining their terms. After the definition of a " a particular Church " they continue : —

By ceremonies and rites of the Church, we understand those ceremonies and rites, which neither expressly, neither by necessary deduction or consequence, are commanded or forbidden in the Scriptures, but are things of their own nature indifferent. As for example, the form and manner of prayers before and after Baptism, and at the administration of the Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, the appointing of times and places for the

hearing of God's Word, ministration of Sacraments, public prayer, number of holy days, times of fasting, and such like.¹

The subsequent discussion embraces these matters and others of the same class. So too in a letter discussing the lawfulness of Ceremonies, Heinrich Bullinger² writes to Lawrence Humphrey and Thomas Sampson from Zürich, 1 May 1566, that he is not prepared to deny that some ceremonies be lawfully instituted, "provided that the worship of God is not made to consist in them, and that they are appointed only for the sake of order and discipline. Christ himself observed the feast or ceremony of the dedication, though we do not read that this feast was prescribed in the Law."

William Tindal³ writes against the Pope and his Church :—

Judge whether it be possible that any good should come out of their dumb ceremonies and sacraments into thy soul. Judge their penance, pilgrimages, pardons, purgatory, praying to posts, dumb blessings, dumb absolutions, their dumb pattering and howling, their dumb strange holy gestures, with all their dumb disguisings, their satisfactions, and justifyings.

Tindal here uses the word in a wide and loose sense together with the narrower : but he is not so useful a witness, as the passage occurs in the course of a violent controversial diatribe. At anyrate he shows that the restricted sense is not the only one : and that 'ceremonies' includes pilgrimages and praying to images, as well as gestures.

Whitgift⁴ held the same view ; in the Answer to the Admonition he writes :—

Therefore we reject all ceremonies wherein there is any opinion to salvation, worshipping of God or merit ; as Creeping to the Cross, Holy bread, Holy water, Holy candle, etc.

¹ E. Cardwell, *A History of Conferences and other Proceedings connected with the Revision of the Book of Common Prayer*, Oxford, 1840 ; p. 73.

² *The Zürich Letters*, Parker Society, 1842 ; p. 352.

³ W. Tindal, *An answer to Sir Thomas More's "Dialogue,"* Parker Society, 1850 ; p. 9.

⁴ John Whitgift, *Works*, Parker Society, 1851 ; vol. j, p. 180.

He even includes the two dominical sacraments¹ amongst 'Ceremonies.'

Furthermore, you know that the Supper and Baptism be not only 'ceremonies,' but also sacraments, instituted and commanded by Christ, having promises of salvation annexed unto them; and so have not other Ceremonies.

He goes on to distinguish between what he terms substantial ceremonies, and accidental ceremonies. By the former he means the two Sacraments aforesaid: by the latter such matters as women wearing a head-covering when they pray, and men none.²

This was no new definition; Cranmer³ in 1548 enquires:—

Whether any person hath abused the Ceremonies, as in casting holy water upon his bed, or bearing about him holy bread [or] St. John's Gospel, ringing of holy bells, or keeping of private holy days, as 'Tailors', Bakers', Brewers', Smiths', Shoemakers', and such other?

But the most convincing proof that the phrase under discussion refers, not to *ceremonial*, but to *services*, is to be found in the Letters Missive sent by the King, and subscribed by the members of the Council, directing that all the old Latin Service books be brought in, to be defaced and abolished, dated 25 December 1549. The important passage is as follows:—

And whereas the book entitled *The Book of Common Prayers and Administration of the Sacraments and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of England*, was agreed upon and set forth by act of Parliament, and by the same act commanded to be used of all persons within this our realm; yet nevertheless we are informed, that divers unquiet and evil disposed persons, sithence the apprehension of the duke of Somerset, have noised and bruited abroad that they should have again their old Latin service, their conjured bread and water, with such like vain and superstitious ceremonies, as though the setting forth of the said book had been the only act of the said duke: We, therefore,

¹ *Ibid.*, 182.

² *Ibid.*, 183.

³ T. Cranmer, *Miscellaneous Writings and Letters*, Parker Society, 1846; p. 158.

by the advice of the body and state of our privy Council, not only considering the said book to be our own act, and the act of the whole state of our realm assembled together in Parliament, but also the same to be grounded upon Holy Scripture, agreeable to the order of the Primitive Church and much to the edifying of our subjects, to put away all such vain expectation of having the public service, the administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies, again in the Latin tongue; have thought good, etc., etc.,¹

After reciting the phrase in debate, *Other Rites and Ceremonies*, in the course of the title of the Prayer-book, the document goes on to state that owing to Somerset's disgrace, some people thought that the Latin Service was to be restored: wherefore the king, to put away such expectation of having *the Public Service, the Administration of Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies*, again in the Latin tongue, calls in the books. Notice particularly that the title of the book, and the comprehensive phrase describing the old service, are practically identical: and especially that it was expected that these "other Rites and Ceremonies" would be used *again in the Latin tongue*. Moreover some of the ceremonies are named; holy bread, and holy water. This is a clear proof that the phrase does *not* denote ceremonial acts, but services: for acts cannot be said to be in the Latin or any other tongue.

In the arguments against Incense it was urged that the calling in of the old Latin service books lest they should be used, showed that it was not intended that the accustomed ritual and the ritual observances under the old service books were to go on.² So far as 'ritual' is concerned, we should all agree: the Latin ritual was put away, and the English ritual substituted for it. This is not a matter that anyone disputes. But as regards ceremonies, in the sense of ceremonial, there is nothing in either Letters Missive or Act to bear out this contention: but the reason for defacing

¹ Thomas Cranmer, *Miscellaneous Writings and Letters*, Parker Society, 1846; pp. 522-3. Cranmer's Mandate, sent with it, is dated 14 February 15⁴/₅⁹/₆.

² *Case against Incense*, 32.

and abolishing the Latin service books is given by the King and Council in the Letters Missive, in the passage quoted above. The reason is so obvious, and so sufficient, that it is quite needless to look for anything more.

Nor can it be maintained that it was intended to abolish all ceremonies not mentioned. There is the celebrated case (or cases, for there were several) in the reign of James I, where the use of a churching-veil, was enforced to the point of excommunication: and on appeal to the Civil Court a prohibition was denied, because the Bishops certified that it was the ancient usage of the Church of England for women who came to be churched to come veiled. Counsel explained this away to the Lambeth Hearing¹ by saying: "There is no going on of a practice forbidden by the Prayer Book. It is nothing of the kind. It is a mere explanation of what the Prayer Book says. The Prayer Book says *decently apparelled*. The Archbishop construes that, and says by custom that means wearing a veil." Homer, as we know, sometimes nodded: and on this occasion Homer was put into a large Commission, for neither of the two archbishops (which is not a matter for surprise) nor any of the counsel nor the experts present rose to the occasion, and pointed out that a consideration of dates upset the whole of this otherwise convincing argument. The truth is, that the crucial words on which the whole argument rests, were inserted into the rubric *for the first time in 1661*. That the custom existed we know from inventories, etc., but there is no rubric ordering it even in the pre-Edwardian books. Therefore this example of a ceremony not abolished², though not mentioned, still stands good: and it is the more important as it was not ever ordered by the pre-Edwardian rubrics.

It is true that there is no mention of incense in the Book of 1549: this is common ground. But when it comes to

¹ *Case against Incense*, 53.

² *Case for Incense*, 139, 140, gives the documents at length.

admitting that "the whole context of incense and censuring" is left out, we part company with the other side. Counsel ignored the quire-offices at the Lambeth Hearing on the plea that if he was able to show that the use of incense was given up at the mass, its use at other services may reasonably be assumed to have been given up too. There is something to be said for this position: but it obviated the difficulty of demonstrating that the whole context of incense had been left out at the usual places in evensong and mattins. Now what is the context of incense in these services? It is the canticles *Magnificat*,¹ *Te Deum laudamus*,² and *Benedictus*.³ It would have been extremely difficult indeed to show that either of these three was left out entirely. On the contrary, the two gospel-canticles are ordered in 1549 to be used throughout the year: and *Te Deum* also, except in Lent. As the censuring at *Te Deum* only took place on festivals and Sundays, when it was used, the Book of 1549 hardly makes any difference in this respect. So far as the quire services are concerned then, it is hardly true to say that the whole context of incense has disappeared.

Let us now turn to the mass. The points at which incense was used in the Sarum rite were (1) at the office, (2) at the gospel, (3) during the mass-creed and (4) at the offertory. There is nothing in the rubrics to prevent the continuance of the old ceremonious entry for mass, with tapers and a lighted censer carried before the celebrant, gospeller and epistoler. With the omission of the forms for blessing incense we will deal later. According to the rubric, as soon as the priest and his ministers are vested, the clerks begin the office, or psalm appointed for the day. Meanwhile the celebrant and his ministers walk to the altar. The old preparation is altered and condensed. But the Lord's Prayer and the Collect for Purity remain: and instead of the psalm *Iudica me* formerly used, the priest

¹ Frere, *Use of Sarum*, j, 113-117, 121-123.

² *Ibid.*, 31, 32.

³ *Ibid.*, 97, 155.

says a psalm varying with the day; the same in fact, as that sung by the clerks for the office. This done, the priest says, *or else the clerks sing*, the Kyries. At low masses he would say them; at sung masses he does not say them, but *instead* (note the phrase *or els*), the clerks sing them: "whiche Psalme ended, the prieste shall saye, or els the clerks shal syng." At Sarum, whilst the Kyries were in singing, the priest was engaged in censuring the altar: and it was frequently so elsewhere. Moreover, many ritualists have pointed out that incense was used during the Kyries to symbolise prayer, the Kyries being the true prayers.¹ What was there to prevent the priest who used the 1549 Book from occupying his time during the singing of the Kyries in the same way as formerly? He had nothing to say, and nothing else to do: indeed, one might almost contend that he was deliberately prevented from saying anything, at times when there was singing, in order that he might still do something that he had been accustomed to do at that moment; to wit, cense the altar. At any rate it cannot be said that the whole context of incense is gone here.

The next moment is at the gospel. The rubric in the Book of 1549 is important.

The Minister then shall reade the epistle. Immediatly after the Epistle ended, the priest, or one appointed to reade the Gospel shall saie. The Holy Gospel written in the (Chapiter of).

The material word in this rubric is *Immediatly*. It must be remembered that the rubric, although in some sense perhaps part of an Act of parliament, was drawn up by men who were not lawyers but clergy: men versed in, or at any rate accustomed to deal with, rubrics, not statutes. Hence we are entitled to assume that they used the ordinary rubrical language to which they had been accustomed in the Latin services: and that such language was to be

¹ E.g. Rupert of Deutz, *De divinis officiis*, Lib I: cap. 29: ap. Hittorp, 865. See p. 230.

interpreted in the same way as the Latin rubrics had been. The old rubrics are, for the most part, directive or descriptive: rarely are they prescriptive. And in the English books the verbs of the rubrics are in the present subjunctive or the future indicative: a peculiarity which was transmitted to their vernacular successors. Therefore the phrase "he shall say" or "let him say" has no stronger force than the equivalent Latin. We have now to determine the scope of "immediately": and will begin by seeing what was done in the Sarum rite at this particular part of the service, after the epistle, and before the gospel. First, then, certain things were sung by the choir: the grail, the *Alleluia*, and the sequence, or the tract. Secondly, the deacon spread the corporas in the midst of the altar, and then censed it: the rubric restricts his censuring to the midst of the altar only. Thirdly, the subdeacon or the deacon made the chalice and arranged the hosts on the paten. Fourthly, the deacon, subdeacon, censer, and taperers (and sometimes the crossbearer) went in procession from the altar to the place where the gospel was to be read.

Now the complete omission of any pieces to be sung at this moment shows that the first of these was cut out by the word "immediately": it is a clear omission of ritual. The second really is part of the preparation for the offertory; and it is perhaps excluded, for lack of time, here: the rubric of 1549 directs the priest to make the chalice and prepare the bread just before the offertory, so that the third is taken away from this place and put further on in the service. The priest is told to lay the bread on the corporas, but we are told nothing of the time when the corporas was spread, nor by whom it was done. It is possible that the priest himself did it, as was formerly practised at low mass: but this is only conjecture. At any rate, the first three of these acts enumerated above are cut out by the word *immediatly*, at this particular moment, for various reasons. But what of the fourth?

Counsel at the Lambeth Hearing became very emphatic, at the suggestion that though grail, sequence, *Alleluia*, or tract, were omitted, yet incense was not.

"I want² to speak with the utmost respect of these learned gentlemen, but it is almost childish, when you have four things omitted, and you are told that something is to be done immediately, to say that that means leave out three and not the fourth."

In the bald way in which Counsel put it, it does sound childish; perhaps. But is his way of putting it quite accurate? or had he not quite realised the position?

We have seen what was done according to the Sarum rite at this moment. In parish churches the gospel was commonly read at a lectern near the lowest step of the altar: but in the first year of Edward VI certain royal Injunctions were put forth, of which the twenty-first begins thus:—

*Also, in the time of high mass, within every church, he that saith or singeth the same shall read or cause to be read the epistle and gospel of that mass in English, and not in Latin, in the pulpit, or in such convenient place as the people may hear the same.*³

There are several important points to be noticed therein. The two mass-lessons were in future to be read only in English. Further they were to be read in the pulpit, or in some other convenient place, so that everyone could hear them: and this was to be done in every church. Consequently, in every parish church the gospel had to be read in the pulpit or some other convenient place; at anyrate not up at the end of the chancel, but away from the altar.

Before going further it is necessary to say something on the legal validity of the Edwardian Injunctions. It is a matter on which different opinions have been held by lawyers. They might have been issued under the Proclamations Acts, 31 Hen. VIII, cap. 8, and 34-35 Hen. VIII, cap. 23. But in that case it is argued that when these Acts were repealed in 1547 by 1 Edw. VI, cap. 12, the Injunctions

² *Case against Incense*, 62.

³ Thomas Cranmer, *Miscellaneous Writings and Letters*, Parker Society, 1846; p. 501.

ceased to be in force by Authority of Parliament : because, after the repeal of an Act nothing can continue to be done under its authority unless by virtue of some special saving clause to that effect. This view has been contested strongly; the arguments may be found in the report of *Martin v. Mackonochie*, in the Arches Court : and against it may be set the fact that one at any rate of these Injunctions was recognised as still having force in 1549, by the first Prayer-book. It was decided in the above mentioned case that (a) the absence of time limit does not invalidate : (b) that there is every presumption in law that the requisite number of members of the Council signed the Injunctions : (c) that the question whether the sheriff proclaimed the Injunctions, as required by the Acts, does not affect the validity of the Injunctions, though it would the sheriff. The question whether they do not break or subvert any Acts, common laws, and lawful and laudable customs of the Realm, as mentioned by 31 Hen. VIII, cap. 8, § 2, was not discussed.

The Injunctions, however, threaten only ecclesiastical penalties : under the Proclamations, Acts they could not do this, but had power to punish by fine and imprisonment : moreover, the Ordinary, and not the Council, was to inflict the penalty.

Again : the rubric on the Litany in the first Prayer-book, at the end of the Communion service,¹ says : " The English Letany shalbe said or song in all places, after suche forme as is appoynted by the kynges maiesties Iniunccions." The reference seems to imply that all of the Injunctions were still in force : at the least, the Injunction relating to the Litany is given the force of a statute by it.

Now the Henrician or rather Cromwellian Injunctions were issued before the Proclamation Acts were passed, by virtue of the Supremacy Act, 26 Hen. VIII, cap. 1 : which gave the King, his heirs and successors, " full power and authority from time to time to visit, repress, redress, reform, order, correct, restrain, and amend, all such errors, heresies, abuses, offences, contempts, and enormities, whatsoever they

¹ *The First Prayer Book of Edward VI*, London, 1903 ; p. 291.

be, which by any manner spiritual authority or jurisdiction ought or may be lawfully reformed, repressed, ordered, redressed, corrected, restrained or amended." The powers conferred by this act are quite wide enough to cover Edward's Injunctions, and the Order of Communion as well. The latter was indeed occasioned by the act ordering Communion in both kinds : but their parliamentary authority derives, it would appear, from the Act of Supremacy.

The Injunction ordering the gospel to be read in the pulpit had therefore the force of an Act of Parliament : the only question remaining is, was it repealed by the Act of Uniformity? The answer to this must be in the negative. The reasons for putting it forth in the first instance, viz. that the people might more easily hear, were just as valid in 1549 as they were in 1547 : and the word "immediately" in the course of a liturgical document and its present context need not mean 'without any interval of time,' but only 'without any ritual matter being interjected between the epistle and gospel,' as was formerly the case. It is the English equivalent of *deinde absque intervallo legatur epistola* ; the rubric in the Sarum massbook after the prophetic lesson on Christmas Eve : or the phrase *sine intervallo* of the first two Christmas masses in the similar position. In every case it means that after the reader of the prophetic lesson had ended, the subdeacon came up and read the epistle, without the singing of a grail or a tract between them, as happened on other days when more than two lessons were read at mass. It may be mentioned that the same phrases occur in the York and Hereford books.

This injunction, with the others had to be read once a quarter openly and deliberately before the parishioners by all parsons, vicars, and clerks, having churches or chapels.

The Injunction being still in force, the deacon had to make a procession from the altar to the pulpit : and it was this procession which was "the context of incense" at this particular moment. The sole object of the use of incense at the gospel was to perfume the way before the gospels' book : and this was all that was done in the secular English rites, for neither lectern or book were censed. Therefore

seeing that the gospel-procession was enjoined, it must be acknowledged that the context of incense (and lights) was not here omitted.

During the singing of the mass-creed the choir and people were censured. As the mass-creed is ordered to be used in the first Prayer-book, and as the use of incense at this moment was one purely fumigatory, there is nothing further to be said. No prayers or form of words were used in the English rites for this ceremony, so that there has not been any omission in the first Prayer-book.

No weight can be attached to the omission of (1) the forms for blessing incense, or (2) of prayers and ejaculations during its use. In the first place, the Latin rubrics, following Durandus and the Canonists, expressly state that the incense used for censuring the clergy and people must never be blessed.¹ Secondly, both the forms used for blessing incense and the ejaculations used during the censuring, of the altar, are neither early, nor universal. The monks of the Charterhouse do not, and never did, use such forms²: only after the Offertory³ the Carthusian priest says before censuring the oblation the verse: *Dirigatur oratio mea*; and as he censes: *In nomine Patris, &c.* Now the

¹ Io. Beleth, *Divinorum officiorum explicatio*, cap. clxj: "Atque ideo moris est in ecclesia, ut ad altare benedictum et consecratum tus offeratur: cum vero descendit turibulum vel ad clericos vel ad laicos, ut tum aliud tus sine benedictione usurpetur, atque hominibus offeratur." Durandus, *Rationale* Lib. IV: cap. viij: n. 2. W. Lindewode, *Provinciale* Lib. V: tit. *De hereticis*: cap. *Nullus quoque*: verb. *Thurificationibus*. *Missale Sarum* 838.* *Manuale et Processionale ad usum insignis ecclesiae eboracensis*, Surtees Society, 1875; p. 22*.

² At the gospel incense is put into the censer, *mittendo nihil dicit* (Martène, *De ant. eccl. rit.*, Lib. I: cap. iv: art. xij: ordo xxv). Nor is there any blessing at the offertory. Martène notes of the blessing of incense before the gospel, that it is not found in the *Rituale Cassinense*, nor in the Cluniac Customs, nor in the Use of Cistercians. The Casaline Benedictines, however, used it, *singulari ut credo ritu* (*De ant. monach. rit.*, Lib. II: cap. iv: § ii: n. iv).

³ *Ibid.*, ordo xxv.

Reformers were acquainted with the Dionysian writings,¹ wherein is a use of incense involving the censuring of the sanctuary and nave, but, with it all, no blessing of the incense used. Consequently, the disuse of such forms need not imply anything more than a return to the practice of more primitive times. Cases parallel to that sort of things are to be found in the Book itself. The rubrics order that after Baptism the child should be anointed: and the sick man, if he so wished, was to be aneiled, on the forehead or breast only. In June, 1549, it is true that there were forms for hallowing cream and the oil for the sick; for the old Pontificals were still in force. But when in 1550 the new Pontifical appeared and supplanted them, no forms were provided for hallowing either; but the rubrics in the Prayer-book remained. A case even more to the point is the use of water for the mixed chalice. This was preserved in the Book of 1549, but the blessing of the water beforehand is omitted.

At the offertory, again, we are told:—

A very large and important part of the pre-reformation service is left out. You lose the whole context of the incense. The oblation in the first Prayer Book of Edward ceases to be a separate prayer or series of prayers, and is contained in only a few words of the consecration prayer.²

Surely there is a little misunderstanding here. The old oblation was the clause *Unde et memores*, which followed on the recital of words of Institution: in the Book of 1549 it is the prayer *Wherefore, O Lord and heavenly Father*, down to *rendering unto Thee*, and is in just the same position (as regards the words of Institution) as before. Let us see first

¹ Th. Cooper, *An answer in defence of the Truth*, Parker Society, 1850; pp. 20, 82, 83, 207. H. Bullinger *Decades*, iv, 248. Th. Becon, *Prayers*, 1844; pp. 387, &c. W. Tindal, *An answer to Sir Thomas More's 'Dialogue'*, 1850; pp. 48, 135. J. Jewel, *Works*, j, 113, and very frequently elsewhere. Cranmer, ap. J. Strype *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, Oxford, 1822; vol. ij, pt. j. pp. 214-5. And many others: see *General Index* to the Parker Society's volumes, p. 279.

² *The case against Incense*, edit. J. S. Franey, London, 1899; p. 62.

exactly what was done formerly at this moment, and what was left out in the Book of 1549. In the Sarum books we have, after *Credo* is begun :

- (1). *Dominus vobiscum. Oremus.*
- (2). The Offertory Anthem.
- (3). The oblations are handed to the priest, and by him set on the altar.
- (4). The prayer *Suscipe, sancta Trinitas, hanc oblationem.*
- (5). The priest censes the oblations, saying, *Dirigatur &c.*
- (6). The priest washes his hands, saying, *Munda me, Domine.*
- (7). Meanwhile the deacon censed around the altar.
- (8). The priest says the prayer *In spiritu humilitatis.*
- (9). The priest asks the people to pray for him, and they do so.

Whether all this merits the terms "very large" may be doubted : and the only "important" part is just the part which is not omitted in the Book 1549, the third in the list. Of the rest some is primitive (2 and 6) ; some of late introduction : in no case is it "important." In the Book of 1549, the local Roman custom of preparing the gifts at the offertory is adopted : and the priest is told to set both the bread and wine upon the altar. Nothing more was said or done at Rome before about the twelfth century : the prayers which are said to be "important" were unknown to the Roman rite before that time. The offertory prayers are not ancient in any western rite : and in *Ordo romanus II*, a Gallican recension of *Ordo I*, there is no offertory prayer, nor any prayer or ejaculation used with the incense, nor is there one in the other *Ordines* of the ninth century. As soon as the oblations are set on the altar, which is all that is essential to this part of the offertory,¹ the celebrant offers incense.²

¹ The offertory is a threefold action. It consists, first, of the offering of the bread, wine, and water, by the faithful (in modern times this is commuted for convenience into a money payment) : secondly, the selection and presentation of the prepared symbols ; and, thirdly, the heavenly offering of our earthly memorial, whereby the symbols become what they were prepared to represent. In the primitive Church the selection and the arrangement of the gifts on the altar was the duty of the deacons : and in strict use the word *offertory* is confined to the first two of the above mentioned parts. There is no primitive authority for the celebrant himself to set the elements on the altar.

² See p. 192.

Assuming that the appeal to earlier and simpler usages was genuine, why should we suppose that incense is entirely cut out here? The rubric is not urgent in its language : there is no "immediately."

And setting both the breade and wyne upon the altar :
Then the Priest shall saye.

But the censuring, we are told, would entail a pause of very definite duration, because the priest had to cense not only the Holy Offering, but the altar itself, which is a thing that could not be done instantaneously. What was done in the Sarum rite was to make the sign of the cross thrice over the oblations, three circles around them, a swing over the altar to the right, and another to the left.¹ It takes about twenty seconds: say thirty, to allow a margin. Can this be called "a serious interruption"? And as regards the censuring about the altar by the deacon, it went on while the priest continued the service, and did not cause any interruption or pause at all.

If Counsel had had a little more experience of high mass according to the Roman rite, he would have modified what he says about the impossibility of using any censuring of the oblations during the Consecration Prayer, without a definite interruption. In that rite the celebrant moves about from one end of the altar to the other when censuring it; yet he is able all the time to recite a psalm. Much more easily could he do so standing still: with equal ease could the Edwardian priest, had he been so minded, have censed both oblations and altar during the prayer. But as we have seen above, there was nothing to suggest his so doing: all that his past experience would have prompted him to do, was to cense the gifts after he had set them on the altar.

So far as the context of incense is concerned, it is clear that there are substantial grounds for believing that it has not disappeared at all; but that, on the contrary, the points of the service where incense was used are in the first Prayer-book, as much as in the Sarum books.

¹ *Missale Sarum*, Burntisland, 1861-83; col. 593.

Another point made by Counsel was that incense was abolished because it was not primitive. Reliance was undoubtedly placed on the fact that the Act of Uniformity states that "the Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church" was agreeable to "the Order of the Primitive Church." That the statement is false is not to the point, so long as the authors thereof thought that it was true. But if the terms "Rites and Ceremonies" do not denote ceremonial in the narrow sense, but services, as we have already seen to be the case, it follows that the appeal to the Primitive Church was not in ceremonial, but in doctrine and the order and arrangement of the services. Professor Collins¹ pointed out that Platina states that Leo III introduced the use of incense: and "Platina was a writer of the sixteenth (!) century,² and was used as a standard authority." What is it that he does say about incense?

Bonifacius [I] autem pontifex tum constituit ne mulier ulla aut monacha sacratam pallam attrectaret: aut thura contingerat: neue seruus aut obnoxius uel obaeratus in clerum reciperetur.³

And again in the Life of Sixtus I:

Nam celestinus missae introitum dedit Tus Leo tertius.⁴

Polydore Vergil was another authority of the time. In treating of burning incense at the altar he says:

Deinde apud nos Leo III illud idem fieri sanxit, quod etiam ab Ethnicis seruabatur.⁵

In the English abridgement the passage is amplified:—

¹ *Case against incense*, 131.

² *Ibid.*, 66.

³ B. Platyna, *Historia de Vitis pontificum*, Venetijs, a Philippo Pincio, 1504; fol. xxv. Or *De Vita et moribus summorum pontificum Historia*, impensa et aere M. Godefridi Hittorpil civis Coloniensis, 1529; p. 48.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Venetijs, 1504; fol. viij. Or Cologne, 1529; p. 14.

⁵ Polydorus Vergilius, *De rerum Inventoribus Liber*, (Lib. v.: cap. x), Lugduni, 1546; p. 356.

Burnyng of encense, þ^t was occupied in the old testament by Aaron and of the Panimes in their superstitious rites, Leo þ^e Third ordaigned to be had in the latyne church.¹

Unless we are to assume that the reformers of the sixteenth century did not read these authors more closely than was convenient, the witness of Platina cannot be held to show that they had grounds for believing incense to be not primitive, for Boniface in the second quarter of the fifth century, before the council of Chalcedon, is represented as making regulations concerning the use of incense, which shows that it was then in vogue. Polydore Vergil, their other authority, is lauded for his learning when they wished to quote his denunciations of papal immorality and other statements which could be hurled against the Roman party: but it is quite different when they come to deal with statements that do not tell in their favour; these are Romish lies and falsehoods, and so on. The truth is that both these men's books were useful weapons in controversy, at times; and then they were truthful learned writers: but they became liars when their words told against the party of New Learning. Yet we cannot suppose that they were really held in high estimation.

On the one side it has been asserted that there is a "conspiracy of silence" with regard to incense in Edward's reign: on the other side, that it was condemned by the Reformers. The simplest way to settle the question is to make a catena of quotations; and then every man may judge for himself.

Dr. Richard Smith's Recantation, August, 1547.²

"In my book of Traditions I sayd and affirmed that Christ and His apostles taught and left to the church many things, without writing, which we must both beleve stedfastly, and also

¹ *An Abridgement of the notable work of Polidore Virgile, conteynyng the devisers and fyrst fynders out . . . of artes*, London, R. Grafton, 1546; fol. 112.

² John Strype, *Memorials of . . . Thomas Cranmer*, London, 1853; vol. ij, Appx. no. xxxix, p. 329. Note the clause which I have italicised.

fulfil obediently under pain of damnation ever to endure. Among the which I rehersed by name a great number to be obeyed, kept and followed: as, . . . the censeng of the altar I do now confess the said doctrine, *as concerning the observing of the said traditions under that pain*, to be false and tyrannical," etc., etc.

H. Latimer,¹ *Sermon on the Ploughers*, 18 January 1548.

"Where the Deuyll is residente, that he maye preuaile, vp wyth al superstition and idolatrie, sensinge, peintynge of ymages, candles, palmes, asshes, holye water, and newe service of menes inuenting."

The First Volume of the Homilies, July, 1547.

The Third part of the Sermon of Good Works, has a list of "papistical superstitions and abuses," including "hallowed beads, bells, bread, water, palms, candles, fire, and such other:" but says nothing of incense.

John Bale.²

At the end of the "Examinations of Anne Askewe," he mentions the fact, without comment, that

"Those canonized martyrs, which hath had, and yet hath still, censings and singings, massings and ringings in the pope's English Church," etc.

In the *Image of both Churches*,

"Then came in that ceremony, and that, as censeng of images, procession and holy water, with candles, ashes and palms."

"There was much idol-worshipping, strange crying and lip labouring, censeng, fooling and charming, crossing, etc. wholly are those antichrists addict to their superstitious rites of the heathen in their holy days their vigils, fastings, prayings, kneelings, and all other usages."

"Still remaineth their foul masses their censeng of idols."

"Then will neither merits nor masses nor yet soul-masses help, neither blessings nor kneelings, sacrifices nor censings," etc.

The scarlet lady is decked in her "copes, corporasses, chasubles, tunicles, fannons and mitres."

¹ Hugh Latimer, *Sermon on the ploughers*, 18 January, 1549, edit. Edward Arber, London, 1868; p. 30. Should not the date really be 1547-48 not 1548-49?

² *Select Works*, Parker Society, 1849; pp. 144, 320, 352, 385, 427, 428, 492, 496, 497, 524, 526, 528, 516, 527, 542.

"And they that have lived wantonly with her in following her idle observations in mattins, hours and masses, in censings, hallowings and font hallowings, in going processions with canopy, cross, pix," etc.

"They will be no more at cost to have the air beaten and idols perfumed with their censers at principal feasts."

"Their fair white rochets of raines," and "their alabaster boxes wherewith they anoint kings," all condemned.

"Frankincense occupy they oft as a necessary thing in the censings of their idols, hallowing of their paschal, conjuring of their ploughs, besides the blessing of their palms, candles, ashes and their dead men's graves.

"Copes, cruets, candlesticks, mitres, crosses, censers, chrismatories, corporasses and chalices, . . . will then for thy sake be abhorred of all men."

"His wife, which is his congregation, hath made herself now ready to her spouse: not with copes and crosses, mitres and relics, torches and holy waters; not with chapels and chantries, hallowings and censings, shavings and anointings, with such other beggary."

J. Bradford.¹

"Pope Leo commanded the sacrament to be censured."

James Pilkington.²

"But because they charge us with contrarieties and diversities of opinions, and are most in that fault themselves, I will yet let them see more wherein they differ among themselves. . . . Nay how can any of these sayings agree with Platina, one of the pope's sworn men, which affirms that Pope Sixtus appointed the *Sanctus*, to be sung; . . . Leo the censuring. . .

Thomas Becon.³

"The synagogue of Satan honoureth God with surplices, copes, vestments, bells, organs, censers, candles," etc.

"The synagogue of Satan stuffeth their temples full of images, idols . . . censeth them, offereth to them, kisseth them, setteth up brenning candles before them," etc.

In a list of "popish baggage": "singing, ringing, piping, censuring, . . . with an infinite number of such-like heathen ceremonies," etc.

¹ J. Bradford, *Writings*, Parker Society, 1853; p. 311.

² Jas. Pilkington, *Works*, Parker Society, 1842; p. 503.

³ T. Becon, *Prayers and other pieces*, Parker Society, 1844; pp. 195-6, 197, (*chf.* 199, §§ 37, 38), 231, 264.

"Purge our temples of all popish abominations, of ceremonies, of images, of altars, of copes, of vestments, of pixes, of crosses, of censers," etc.

"After the creed, upon solemn feasts, ye use to cense the altar, which was first brought in by Pope Leo about the year of our Lord eight hundred and seventy-six."

"Christ in the administration of his most holy supper used his common and daily apparel. The massmonger . . . now censing, now kissing the altar," etc.

"The massmonger . . . hath . . . organs . . . chalice of silver and of gold, patens, censers, ship, frankincense, altar-cloths," etc.

In a list of errors, abuses etc.: "vestments, copes, tunicles, . . . censers, bells, candles, . . . corporasses, . . . altars, altar-cloths, chalices, cruets," etc.

"Antichrist commandeth his shavelings to say mattins, mass, and evensong."

"Antichrist minglenth water and wine together in his ministration."¹

Peter Martyr,² to John Hopper (or Hooper) 4th November 1550.

"From all these things I think you see that all things of Aaron's priesthood have not been so abolished, that none of them can be retained or used. And do not straightway say to me, there will now be a window opened to all abuses, to holy water, to incense, and endless other matters of that sort. For your opponents will answer that a limit must be appointed in the things they recall and retain, in order that the assembly of the faithful be not burdened with this kind of matters, and that neither the worship nor power of religion be placed in them, as we see to be done in holy water and incense. Finally, that Christian liberty be not perilled, we must take care that, although some be restored, they be not so replaced, as if they were necessary for obtaining salvation. But we ought to tolerate things which are of this sort, with the understanding, that when they appear less profitable, they be laid aside."

¹ Becon *u.s.* 361-2, 362, (*cnf.* 374, against communion of the sick) 385, 506, 524.

² G. Corn. Gorham, *Gleanings of a few scattered ears*, London, 1857; pp. 191-2.

John Hooper to Heinrich Bullinger, 27th March 1550.¹

"It is no small hindrance to our exertions, that the form which our Senate, or Parliament, as we commonly call it, has prescribed for the whole realm [*i.e.* the first Prayer-book], is so very defective and of doubtful construction, and in some respects indeed manifestly impious. I sent it to our friend, Master Butler, about four months since. I am so much offended with that book, and that not without abundant reason, that if it be not corrected, I neither can nor will communicate with the church in the administration of the [Lord's] supper."

Now what is the upshot of all these passages? They are the opinions of private men, not those who were engaged in compiling the first Prayer-book: and they condemn censuring, specially censuring of images. As a matter of fact most of the references to incense are condemnations of censuring images. Professor Collins said at the Lambeth Hearing² that Platina's statement was "followed" by Bradford and Pilkington: but it was at a distance, as a comparison of the passages will shew. Moreover, Pilkington merely quotes Platina to shew how his opponents differ among themselves: the question whether incense was desirable or not was not before him.

On looking through the quotations given above, it will be seen that some of them deal with other matters besides incense. They show in fact that the writers who disapproved of incense likewise disapproved of the surplice, altar cloths, organs, copes, vestments, tunics; of the mixed chalice; of chalices, patens, and corporasses, and many other things. They also strongly disapproved of the

¹ *Original Letters*, Parker Society, 1846; vol. j, p. 79. This quotation does not bear directly on the question: but it throws an interesting light on the attitude of Hooper towards the first Prayer-book, and by implication, on that of his party. Also it explains the attitude of the same man after he was made bishop, and enables one to understand how loyally he would carry out the rubrics of the book.

² *The Case against Incense*, London, 1899; pp 131-2.

practice of communicating the sick.¹ Excepting organs and altar-cloths, all these ornaments and customs are ordered explicitly by the Book of Common Prayer of 1549. Therefore, if these opinions condemning incense (other than censuring of images) are held to be representative of the opinions of the compilers of the first Prayer-book, equally so must the much more numerous and emphatic denunciations of the other matters; in spite of the fact that these other matters are ordered in the Book itself. The absurdity of such a thing is sufficiently obvious. And one cannot help thinking that the opinions of the Reformers concerning censuring would never have been advanced as evidence against the use of incense, if they who brought them forward had had a real knowledge of the aims and writings of those men.

Professor Collins quoted Barbaro, the Venetian Ambassador, as another witness against the use of incense. At the Hearing he unfortunately had a false text before him: Barbaro was made to say that under the first Prayer-book "they used bells and organs, but neither altars nor images, nor water nor incense (*non acqua, non fuoco*) nor other Roman ceremonies." The true text has been made public, but in the opinion of Professor Collins this did not affect his argument. Dr. Wickham Legg² has dealt at some length with this expert's argument, so that one need do no more than refer the reader to what he says, beyond saying that Barbaro was inaccurate, often quite wrong, and that what he really did write was that they used *non acque, non fuochi, non altre ceremonie delle mani*. Whatever the meaning of *fuoco* may be, *fuochi* certainly cannot mean

¹ E.g. Thos. Becon, *The Catechism*, Parker Society, 1844; 238: *Prayers, etc.*, 374. R. Hutchinson, *Works*, 1842; 227. M. Coverdale, *Writings*, 1844; 432 *Remains*, 86. H. Bullinger, *Decades*, vol. iv, 428. J. Hooper, *Early Writings*, 1843; pp 170-173. Apparently those who participated in Communion of the Sick, ate and drank to their own damnation!

² J. Wickham Legg, *Ecclesiological Essays* (*The Library of Liturgiology and Ecclesiology for English Readers*, vol. vii), London, 1905; pp. 227 sq.

incense : and in my own mind I have no doubt ¹ that when Barbaro says that they do not use "altars, nor waters, nor fires," he is referring to Ridley's destruction of altars, etc. prohibition of altar-lights, and to the abandonment of the mingled cup by the advanced Reformers. "Fire" is a common term for the altar-light.² It is no use appealing to authority in a question of this sort, nor to the guess of a very well-known historical writer. There have been many "well-known historical writers" who have gained a great reputation on small grounds : and the question is one of fact, not of the *opinions* or *guesses* of any "historical writer". What has to be done, if it is yet desired to make folk believe that *fuochi* ever could mean incense, is to produce a few quotations with the word used in that sense from sixteenth century Italian writers. If they could find any Italian writer using *fuochi* in the sense of *incense* say between 1400 and 1560, it would go much further than any number of guesses by anonymous "well-known historical writers," who may even have been interested in agreeing with so strange a translation. In the following passage, which describes the entrance of Leonardo Trissino into Padua as its Governor in 1509, we have the word in question used with the undoubted signification of *lights* of some kind or other :

¹ For the reasons for this opinion see *Essays on Ceremonial*, London 1904 ; pp. 267 sq. "Paschal Fire," by the way, is *not* "commonly described in the sixteenth century as either the 'Paschal Candle,' the 'Paschal Taper' or the like." The two things are quite distinct, and the services for consecrating them very different (*Case against Incense*, 138). See *Missale Sarum* for them, on Easter Even.

² Decret. Greg. IX, Lib. III : tit. xlj : cap. 14, speaks of the penalty of singing mass *sine igne et aqua*, without a light and the mixture of the chalice. Quoted by Durandus, *Rationale* Lib. IV : cap vi : n. 5. Lindewode, *Provinciale* Lib. III : tit. *De celebratione missarum* : cap. *Altissimus* : verb, *canonica necessitas* : cap. *Linteamina* : verb. *due candeles*. J. de Burgo. *Pupilla Oculi*, Lib. I : cap. vii : and the Canonists generally. Lud. Ciconiolanus, *Directorium Divinorum Officiorum*, Romae, 1539 : cap. *De igne altaris* ap. J. Wickham Legg, *Tracts on the Mass*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1904 ; p. 204.

Giungemmo alla fine nella citta, la quale per infiniti lumi e per gran quantità di fuochi, e per molto popolo che lungo le strada era, e moltissime belle donne sopra i balcone.¹

It is not every "well-known historical writer" who has any knowledge of liturgy, or even of ecclesiology; in fact, on those two matters many a man otherwise learned has come seriously to grief. It would be something if it could be shown that *fuoco* or *fuochi* were used to connote *incense* in the first half of the sixteenth century. But even supposing such passages could be found, the question would still have to be faced, is Daniele Barbaro a witness on whom the least reliance is to be placed? And a perusal of Dr. Wickham Legg's article just referred to will assuredly give the answer, No.

Further, it is not quite accurate to say that they always explained the ceremonies which they retained, specially if the narrower signification be enforced. All the vestments were retained, and their use was a ceremony, in the narrower sense; but no explanation whatever appears in Book or Act. Still more to the point is the ceremony of mingling wine and water for the mixed chalice: not only did they not add any explanation of the ceremony, but they even omitted the explanation which the old books gave. In the Sarum rite² the priest blessed the water before it was poured into the chalice with the words: "By Him be it blessed, from Whose side flowed blood and water. In the name, etc." Here at any rate was one explanation; and if they did not care for the symbolism, it was open to them, if they were so desirous of explaining everything, to invent another.

¹ *Lettere storiche di Luigi da Porto Vicentino dull' anno 1509 al 1528*, Ed. B. Bressan, Firenze, 1857; p. 82 (Letter 21).

² *Missale Sarum*, 587. Thereby they brought the book into relation with the Charterhouse Rite, for the monks of that Order do not say anything at the making of the chalice. It is curious to notice that in the Second Prayer-book a further step in adopting their ceremonial was made in the position assumed at the preparation before mass *i.e.* the Lord's Prayer and Collect for Purity. It may also be pointed out that, though no "explanation" of the vestments was adopted, several were available at the time.

In the same way the use of proper Psalms has been stripped of the "explanations" provided in the old Breviaries. It is by no means obvious at first sight why many of them are used: the reason for saying those appointed for Mattins of Whitsunday, for example, is certainly "explained" to some extent by the anthems formerly used with them, and which the Book of 1549 omitted. In the Prayerbook of 1549 the two second lessons for the feast of the Epiphany deal, one with the Lord's Baptism, the other with the miracle at Cana: both are concerned with the manifestations of Christ to the Jews, not to the Gentiles. Latimer, preaching on this day in 1553, describes the Epiphany as the opening of our Saviour to the Gentiles¹: and so it is defined in the Prayerbook of 1661. In fact, this is a recognised explanation of the festival. Persons anxious to explain everything would have mentioned that both these events were commemorated by the Church on this day, as well as the visit of the Magi. In their anxiety to charge Rome and the old English services with keeping people in the dark, they forgot to think whether the same charge might not be pressed equally against themselves.

What explanation is afforded of those little black crosses that figure in the Canon of the Book of 1549? is the ceremony that they denote 'dark and dumb'? Superstitious was what they were termed by advanced Reformers²: and we are not told why they were used. On the whole, it may be safely affirmed that it is not the case that the Book of 1549 always explains the ceremonies which it retains; that the instances to the contrary, which have been cited above, are sufficient to show the same, and to give good grounds for the assertion that the failure to supply an "explanation"

¹ Hugh Latimer, *Sermons and Remains*, Parker Society, 1845; p. 129.

² John Calvin in 1555 wrote: "Verily no man well instructed or off a sounde Iudgement will deny (as I think) that lights and crossings or suche like trifles, sprange or issued owte off superstition" (*A Brieff discours off the troubles begonne at Franckford in Germany*, Geneva(?), 1575; p. LII).

of the uses of incense and processional lights is no argument that the compilers of the first Prayer-book did not contemplate any use of incense under that Book. The fact remains that certain ceremonies were retained *nominalim* and explicitly, for which no "explanation" is given; and in one case, the "explanation" formerly provided was deliberately omitted in the Book of 1549.

Brawlers in churches, whether of this or any other century, can hardly be taken to typify the general opinion of the country at the time of their outrages: but still, they do have a certain backing of a sort, so that the following instances may be taken as showing that there was some hostility to the ceremonial use of incense even during the reign of Henry VIII on the part of some persons. We will not estimate the value of the hostile opinion very highly: but such as it was, it existed.

In a list of sufferers under the Six Articles Law, Foxe¹ has the following note: "Master Galias [of Bernardes Inne] for withstanding the Curate sensing the altars on *Corpus Christi* Even, and saieng openly that he did nought." This protest took place at St. Andrews Holborn, in 1541. In Laurence Humphrey's Latin *Life of Jewel*² it is recorded that one Henry Bull struck the censer out of the hands of him who was holding it, lest he should cense the "papistical idol".

The evidence of churchwardens' accounts was brought forward at the Lambeth Hearing as being against the use of incense under the first Prayerbook. It was stated that these documents showed that incense was used up to the introduction of the Book of 1549, and then dropped: that it was revived again under Mary, and again dropped when the Elizabethan Book came in force. In my experience of this kind of documents, it is uncommon to find any mention of incense having been bought in Edward's reign either

¹ John Foxe, *Actes and Monuments of the Church*, London, 1583; p. 1194.

² *The Case against Incense*, 531.

before or after June, 1549 : it is more common to find it in Marian accounts ; but taking such documents as a whole, entries of incense are far more common after Mary's accession than before. In most places it was the business of the curate to provide incense : hence the churchwardens' accounts do not contain the notes of payment for it. At All Saints, Bristol, for instance, the accounts¹ begin in 1407 (the first year of them is undated, so that it may be earlier) and are, with but a few years missing, complete up to the end of the eighteenth century. In this long period of practically five hundred years I have only noticed the following items relating to incense :

1533 to 1554. Costes halowyng of þe gret belle.
payd for dj. a li. of frankeensens, jd. ob.

1539 to 1540. Item ffranke & sense, ij d.

1553 to 1554. The Settyng vp Another Awter.
Item p^d for hallfe A pounce of franceninsence, j^d

1555 to 1556. payed for franckyn sence, iij d.
(Amongst a series of payments for the Sepulchre) payed for
franckyn Sence, jd.

1557 to 1558. paid for frangencence ij d. (thrice).

1559 to 1560. Item for fra[n]gensence, iij d.

The published accounts of Ludlow² run from 1540 to 1570. They contain payments for incense in 1541, '44, '54, '55, '56, '57, '58, '59. In 1540 and '47, they bought coals to cense with. There is no mention of either in '48, '49, '50, '51, '52, or '53.

At Heybridge³ incense was bought in 1509, 10 Hen. VIII, 12-13 Hen. VIII, 1522, '23. There is no mention of it in 1525, '26, or 19 Hen. VIII.

At Walberswick⁴ the only payment is in 1452.

¹ MSS at All Saints, Bristol.

² Camden Society, 1869.

³ J. Nichols, *Illustrations of the Manners and Expences of Ancient Times*, London, 1791 ; pp, 151, 152, 153, 160, 162, 163, 164, 165, 168.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 185.

At St. Andrew Hubbard, London,¹ from 1509 to nearly the end of Elizabeth's reign there are the following entries of incense: 1488 (in connection with *bromes* and *palme*), 1546 (in connection with the Sepulchre); 1553, '56-7, 58-9; 1560. There is no mention at all in '47, '48, '49, '50.

At Morebath in Devon² during the reigns of Henry and Edward VI, there is one payment for incense, viz. in 1526-27. At Croscombe, Somerset,³ in this century, I find one payment, apparently in connection with the Pascall; viz. in 1558. At Yatton⁴ there are payments in 1495, '96; 1554, '55, 59. At Tintinhull⁵ incense was bought in 1448-49, 1457-58, 1534-35.

At St. Ewen's, Bristol,⁶ they paid for incense in 1548-49, '55, and 1604. At St. Nicholas⁷ the accounts run from 1520 onwards: they bought incense in 1542-43, '43-4, '44-5, '45-6, '46-7, '47-8, 56-7. At Christ Church, Bristol, they paid for incense in 1544, '45, '47; '54, '55, '56, '57, '58, '60.

The published accounts of St. Mary the Great, Cambridge run from 1504 to 1635. Incense was bought in 1554-55, '55-6, '56-7, '57-8, '58-9, '61-2, '65-7, (twice), '67-8, '70-1, '71-2, '72-3, '73-4, '74-5.

The first item in the churchwardens' accounts of St. Michael, Bishop's Stortford⁹ (from 1431 to 1785) relating to incense is in 1625.

¹ *British Magazine*; xxxij, 277: xxxiii, 675: xxxv, 52, 178, 180-5, 274.

² *Churchwardens' Accounts*, Somerset Record Society, 1890; p. 220.

³ *Ibid.*, 48.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 120-1, 166-7, 171.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 183.

⁶ MSS at Christ Church with St. Ewen's, Bristol.

⁷ MSS at St. Nicholas, Bristol.

⁸ J. E. Foster, *Churchwardens' Accounts of St. Mary the Great, Cambridge*, Cambridge Antiquarian Society, 1905; pp. 132, 136, 139, 140, 142, 144, 151, 159, 165, 174, 177, 178, 179, 181, 183.

⁹ J. L. Glasscock, *The Records of St. Michael's Parish Church, Bishop's Stortford*, London, 1882; p. 70, *Cnf.* pp. 69, 71,

There are but two payments for incense between 1420 and 1559 at St. Mary-at-Hill, London: once in the accounts for 1479-81, and once in 1557-58.

The value of this evidence as *expositio contemporanea* seems to me to be nil. It certainly does not bear out the idea that incense ceased with or because of the introduction of the first Prayer-book. Nor is there any reason to believe that a more searching examination of accounts throughout the country would reveal a different story.

But we do know that the state of affairs religious in the reign of Edward VI was simply chaos. The Council were doing their best to destroy the Church, using all the under-hand means in their power to undermine the feelings for religion and reverence throughout the country. Under such circumstances it is not surprising to find that there is very little evidence of what actually took place.

Robert Parsons has left a vivid picture of the state of things:—

And now what a babylonical confusion ensued in England upon these innovations in all Churches, Parishes, and Bishoprics commonly, is wonderful to recount. For some priests said the Latin mass, some the English communion; some both, some neither; some said half of one and half of the other. And this was very ordinary, to wit, to say the *Introitus* and *Confiteor* in English: and then the Collects and some parts in Latin. And after that again the Epistle and Gospel in English, and then the Canon of the mass in Latin: and lastly the benediction and last Gospel in English. And this minglemangle did every man make at his pleasure as he thought would be most grateful to the people.¹

The Act of Uniformity did not improve matters: rather it made them worse. Hooper² found that men used to “refuse their own parish, and frequent and haunt other, whereas the Communion is more like a mass than in” their own; and finally according to the second Act of Uniformity, “a great number of people in divers parts of this realm”

¹ N. D. [Robert Parsons], *A Treatise of Three Conversions of England*, London, 1688; p. 206.

² J. Hooper, *Later Writings*, Parker Society, 1852; p. 141.

did "willingly and damnably before Almighty God abstain and refuse to come to their parish Churches and other places where Common Prayer, Administration of the Sacraments, and Preaching of the Word of God is used."

This second act made Uniformity still less known. Myles Huggarde tells how they were constantly changing the position of the communion table, some facing northwards, others to the south, and others to the west. Some used leavened bread, others unleavened. Some would have "a table cloth to cover the board, some a towel, and some¹ neither of them both."

Nothing is less used than Morning and Evening Prayer, never was more irreverence in the church, never such disobedience to the magistrates, and as for repairing the church, it is counted a thing of no importance.²

The rapid deterioration of morals, manners, and religion under the fostering care of Somerset and Northumberland is unparalleled in history, one would fain believe. At the Lambeth Hearing, Counsel seemed to think that the omission of so much ceremonial in the second Book was caused by prohibitions of the first Act of Uniformity, which put a stop to it, and so men forgot all about it. The historical point of view shows a very different picture. It shows a steady encouragement of scoffing at religion and sacred things from the beginning of Edward's reign, with a resultant decrease of all care for outward decency in the new forms of Public Worship, and of all wish to take any part in that worship: it shows a rapid deterioration of morals amongst the men of the New Learning, regretted, but admitted, by friend as well as foe. It was this which caused the omission of so much in the second Book, and not the prohibitions of the first Act. Unless one has paid some close attention to the period, it is impossible to realise the terrible state of public

¹ Myles Huggarde, *The displaying of the Protestant and sondry their practices, with a description of divers their abuses of late frequented*, London, 1556; fol. 80.

² *Ibid.*, fol. 94.

morals at the time ; the ordinary popular histories simply ignore it. Strype, however, does not fail to notice it.¹

In the Case for Incense, reliance was placed upon the fact that in the majority of the inventories taken in the year 1552, censers are mentioned as belonging to the church. The facts were not disputed by the other side, but it was argued² that they were immaterial. "But what would be material for my learned friends would be if they could find in an assignment of church goods for the use of the parish, a censer assigned for use. That would be very material indeed ; I mean assigned by the Commissioners. If you could find a case of assignment of a censer in Edward's reign for the use of a church it would be very important. But you never find one, and the fact that you never find one is very strong evidence to show that it was because they were not then considered legal ornaments." With this opinion we must disagree absolutely and entirely.

The Commission for this wholesale robbery of the churches was due to the need which the Government had of an immediate supply of money : "It was decreed that forasmuche as the Kinges Majestie hath neede presently of a masse of money, therfore Commissions shulde be addressed into all shires of Englande to take into the Kinges handes suche church plate as remaigneth, to be employed unto his Highnes use," is the account in the Acts of the Privy Council, dated 3 March 1550-51. There is no question of the legality or of the illegality of the ornaments which were to be stolen : they were to be stolen simply and solely because the King had "neede presently of a masse of money." It was not until 29 January of the next year,

¹ "The Nation now became scandalous also for the Frequency of Divorces : especially among the Richer Sort" (J. Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, London, 1721 ; vol. ij, p. 443). "And to the Scandal of the Reformation, there were more loose Houses in London, now in King Edward's days, than ever were before. The Bank [in South-work] when it stood was never so common for whoredom as the City now. And it went unpunished" (*Ibid.*, 449).

² *Case against Incense*, 89.

1551-52, that the Council directed the issue of letters to the Custos rotulorum of each shire to take a new set of inventories to be compared with those made previously in 1549, and if there were any jewels, plate, bells, vestments, or other ornaments lacking, the Commissioners were ordered to make careful enquiry after the missing articles: but no power was then given to seize the goods. Inventories were accordingly taken in the course of the summer all over the country. On the 16 January 1552-53 a Commission was appointed to collect the plunder. Again there is no pretence of religion, nor of the illegality of the ornaments, nor of anything of the sort. The objects of superstition which were to be gathered in are enumerated as "ready money, plate, and jewels," which were to be appropriated to the King, and the "copes, vestments, and ornaments of silk without gold, of satin of Bruges, of dornix, worsted, of saye," which were to be sold for the King's benefit.

Now, first, we must notice that the inventories of 1552 do not ever assign censers to any parish for the use of the church, so far as is known. Seeing that the object of the whole proceedings was because the King "had need presently of a mass of money," on *a priori* grounds we should expect that everything of any value on which they could lay hands would be seized and sold. Censers were usually made either of silver, or of latten: both metals were of value and could be easily turned into ready money. Next, the Commission that collected the plunder and assigned certain ornaments, etc., for the use of the church, was appointed on 16 January 1553 (New Style). This date should be noticed. The second Prayer-book came into force in the previous November, and under this Book a very different set of ornaments was required from what was used under the first. The conspiracy begun when Edward ascended the throne, by Somerset and his tools, had nearly attained its end. Religion and public worship had been brought down to a standard nearly as low as they intended, and they were gathering in the spoil. There was no reason for assigning ornaments for the use of the church, which were not to be used under the second Prayer-book, by this Commission. But, be it noticed, this Commission also seized not only

ready money, but chalices, copes, vestments, bells, and every thing else that could be converted into money. They left to the use of the church in most cases one chalice (that of least value), and in larger churches two, with a cope or a vestment to make a covering for the holy table, one or more surplices, and a linen cloth. If the lack of assignments proves the censer to have been illegal, under the Prayer-book of 1549, it equally shows the chasuble, the cope, candlesticks, cruets and bells¹ to have been illegal likewise. Again it is needful to draw attention to the fact that, from the first, those in power in the reign of Edward VI intended to degrade the Church in England to the level of continental protestantism. If this is borne in mind, everything that took place during that reign is perfectly clear and intelligible; and it is the lack of understanding of this fact that has led to such frequent failure to get at the true bearing of so much that happened.

But in many places (wherever it was deemed safe to do so, perhaps) the Commissioners appointed in 1552 were afterwards given a set of instructions to assign the Church goods, as was done generally in the following January. That it was not done everywhere in the summer of 1552 is sufficiently shown by the issue of Commission in January, 1552-53. This is further evidence that the intention of the authorities was, from the first, to make a progressive change in the religion of England, always in a downgrade direction: and the object which they kept before their eyes was the wealth, in lands and ornaments, of the Church. The fact that assignments of censers in 1552 are not to be found proves nothing, except that censers were made of valuable metal which could readily be converted into money. The absence of such assignments can only be used as proof that censers were illegal under the Book of 1549, when it is shown that the same Commissioners *always* assigned for the use of the Church all those ornaments which are *specifically named* in the book itself: such as chasubles, tunics, albs, etc.

¹ In a large number of cases, at any rate, the bells were assigned to the parish; but in many they were seized.

Even then it could fairly be contended that (1) the Commission was avowedly appointed to plunder the Churches¹ because the King was in immediate need of money ; no questions of religion, legality of ornaments, and the like being so much as even hinted at ; (2) that the robbery of the cash in hand, is quite inexplicable on any grounds, other than the ostensible reason given ; and (3) that the plundering of the belfries must equally make it illegal, then and now, to have a peal of bells ; which is too absurd for anyone seriously to maintain.

As a result of our examination of the evidence it may therefore be maintained that although the Book and the Act of 1549 established one uniform system of Rites and Ceremonies, it did not establish a uniformity of Ceremonial : that they did not abolish all ceremonies not mentioned in the Book, if by "ceremonies" be meant *ceremonial*, for the word in the Act and in the Book refers to services only, such as that connected with Holy Water, &c. : that all ceremonies retained were not explained : that the whole context of incense, so far from being entirely omitted, is entirely retained : that the evidence of usage is neutral, telling neither way, except so far as the existence of censers, which continued in most churches until the Council sent round Commissions to spoil the churches because the King was in need of money, may be taken as favourable : and that the evidence that the Reformers disliked censuring (apart from censuring of images) comes from men who in the same breath denounced in language even more vigorous almost every ornament, ceremony, and service prescribed and ordered explicitly by the Book of 1549, and so tells in favour of the view that incense was used under that Book rather than against it.

¹ I say the Churches, and not the Church : for the property belonged to the units, and not to the corporate body as a whole. And here I may point out that a subtle attempt was begun at the Crowning of King Edward VII to undermine the constitution of the Church in this country, in the Oath administered, wherein "the Church" in England is said to have been committed to the charge of the bishops and clergy. When, and by whom, I ask ? "The Churches" was the old phrase, and expressed the truth : the change is utterly opposed to it.

Evidence of the liturgical use of incense under the Elizabethan Prayer-book is small. There is a very large number of instances in churchwardens' accounts of the use of incense for some purpose: but when that purpose is mentioned it is always for perfuming the church. It is a use comparable with that of Antioch at the close of the fourth century, and with that in the liturgy of the Dionysian writings. The reign of Elizabeth was not a time when much regard was paid to ceremonial embellishments: it was as much as, or even more than Parker could manage to do, to secure a minimum of ceremonial decency. A time when men could scarcely be got to wear a surplice was not a time when men were likely to trouble about censuring altars.

But the questions of the actual use of incense, and of its legality, are two different affairs altogether. There is, however, one document which has the appearance of showing that a censer was a lawful ornament in the reign of Elizabeth: it is the now famous Bodmin deed, which gives an inventory of various ornaments of the church, &c. which were *to be used and occupied in the church*.

The Bodmin deed has given rise to a good deal of speculation as to its significance. But although the form of it is a little unusual, this kind of documents is not uncommon: and at one time must have been very common. The document, which is one of a pair of indentures, sets forth that the two churchwardens of the church of St. Petrock, the parish church of Bodmin, have received the goods and ornaments of the church from the keeping of the mayor, "to be used and occupied to the honour of God in the same church"; and that the churchwardens had taken upon them and their successors to yield a true reckoning to the mayor for the time being "and to the whole parish of Bodmin" in a year's time. And then follows a list of ornaments, &c., including vestments, candlesticks, and a censer.

I have printed a similar pair of indentures¹ containing an inventory of goods, &c. of All Saints, Bristol, dated 5 March

¹ *Archaeological Journal*, 1901; vol. lviii, pp. 171 sq.

1395-96 : it differs from the Bodmin deed in that it was made between the two retiring churchwardens, and their successors ; and there is no clause stating for what purpose the ornaments were transferred, nor any to compel them to yield a true account of the same at the end of their year of office.

The ornaments in question were the property of the parishioners : they could sell them, hire them out or lend them as they pleased, so long as the requisite ornaments were available for divine worship when needed. But they could be, and often were, forced to provide these ornaments under pain of excommunication. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, instead of drawing out fresh indentures every year, they often utilised the old ones, making such corrections and additions as time rendered necessary. The pair belonging to All Saints, Bristol, mentioned above, have been treated in this way.

But the early years of Elizabeth were very different. The spirit of irreligion was abroad : and with it the tendency to embezzle church goods on any excuse or none. The example had been set by Henry VIII and Edward VI : so that there is some excuse for the lesser folk who followed in their humble way such august precedents for petty theft. Bodmin, although a town with a mayor, is not very large : and I suspect that his appearance in this indenture is due to his being the secular head of the vestry as well as of the council ; if, indeed, the two bodies at that period were not identical. As the most important representative of the parish it was his duty to see that the parish goods were not made away with : and in disturbed times like those any additional check upon would-be embezzlers can be well understood. Consequently, the parish as a whole, with the mayor at its head, took possession annually of the ornaments, &c., instead of letting the two out-going churchwardens simply hand over the same to their successors. At the present time it is difficult for us to realise the intimate connection between the civil and ecclesiastical side of the parish which prevailed more or less up to the nineteenth century : and in the sixteenth century it was about as close as anything could be. In Bodmin there was

only one church, although it was a town with a mayor at the head of its civil side ; one might almost look upon it as a glorified village. In which case the position of the mayor of the town would be such that one would expect him to be interested in the ecclesiastical as well as the civil side of the affairs of the parish. If this view be accepted, the Bodmin deed becomes no longer a mystery, but a perfectly ordinary document, stating exactly what it means : and the phrase "to be used and occupied in the church" means exactly what it says. Hence it may be taken as an example of the use of vestments, candlesticks, and a censer at the time when it was drawn up, the Sunday next after the feast of St. Michael in the eighth year of Elizabeth, 6 October 1566.

Items relating to incense are exceedingly common from Elizabeth's reign onwards until the eighteenth century : but none have been found that go beyond a mere perfuming of the building. A catena of such instances is therefore hardly worth the trouble of making : it proves nothing to the point, so long as the modern legal distinction between an ornament and a decoration be maintained.¹

¹A large number of instances of the use of incense from 1558 onwards are given in *Hierurgia anglicana*, De la More Press, 1903 ; part ij, pp. 171 sq. In *Old Church Life in Scotland*, second series, Paisley, 1886, p. 259, Dr. Andrew Edgar says "At the beginning of last century, coffins were in Scotland carried with large black cloths on which were spread herbs and flowers Sometimes frankincense was used for odorous or deodorising purposes. A minister in Perth died in 1719, and the following bill for his death and burial was presented to his executors :—Funeral charges, £231 6s. Scots ; doctor's fees, £75 12s. ; drugs furnished, and frankincense for corps and coffin, £32 4s. Fasti." But there is no evidence here that incense was burnt, as in England in post reformation times.

CONCLUSION

We are now in a position to sum up the results of this enquiry and answer the questions as to the origin of the various uses of incense in the Church which have been proposed from time to time.

First, then, is the use in the funeral procession. It is a triumphal use, analogous to its use in the triumphal processions of various non-christian nations, more particularly the Romans: where the body of the departed has replaced the triumphing general, psalms and Alleluias the songs of the soldiery, and so on. Through the procession of the relics at the consecration of a church, this method passed into the dedication service.

Secondly, incense was used at joyful processions, after the advent of Christianity as before; and so came to be a general accompaniment of most processions.

Thirdly, incense was used as an ensign of the episcopal office, specially in connection with the entry of the clergy for solemn mass. From this it passed to the bishop's deputy, and thence to all priests about to celebrate the substitute for solemn mass, viz., high mass.

Fourthly, the introduction of a form for blessing the altar at the commencement of the sixth century, in which prayer was spoken of as spiritual incense, suggested the employment of material incense at the same time. This was imitated at ordinary solemn and high masses, and so came about the priest's censuring of the altar after the offertory, and at other times during mass.¹ The wave of Judaizing which spread

¹ Thus, we have the following imitations of the ceremonial and ritual of the Dedication Service: (1) the censuring of the altar; (2) the use of the anthem *Asperges* and psalm *Misereve* at the blessing of holy water, mass; (3) the use of the anthem *Introibo* and psalm *Iudica me* and



The Corpus Christi procession at Vienna in 1908. Two thurifers in tunics burn incense before the Eucharist, one walking backwards and the other forwards.

over the Church from the sixth to the tenth or eleventh centuries also helped in this process, by causing folk to regard incense as a sacrifice to Almighty God.

Fifthly, a liking for a pleasant perfume accounts for several occasions of the use of incense. Censing of persons, cupboards, tombs, etc., come under this head.

Sixthly, incense being regarded as a demonifuge, it was used not only in a general way for that purpose, but particularly in visiting the sick, in blessing bells and other objects.

Seventhly, another group of cases are purely histrionic : as for instance, the use at Whitsuntide.

Censing at Evensong grew out of the use of the verse *Let my prayer be set forth, O Lord, in thy sight as incense* : that at Lauds probably by analogy, and because it was regarded as the representative of the Morning incense of the Jewish System, just as that at Evensong was of Evening incense. Censing at Mattins is connected with the custom of burning incense before great persons, such as bishops, and before saints and their relics.

Censing at the sacring is connected with the sacrificial idea of the use of incense : like that at the offertory.

Not one of these methods is without its close parallel in one or other of the pre-christian religions, which we have detailed in the first part of this essay. We therefore conclude that censing did not arise *de novo* in the Church : but was adopted from extra-christian sources, just as many other ceremonies were brought in from time to time by the Church as she thought fit.

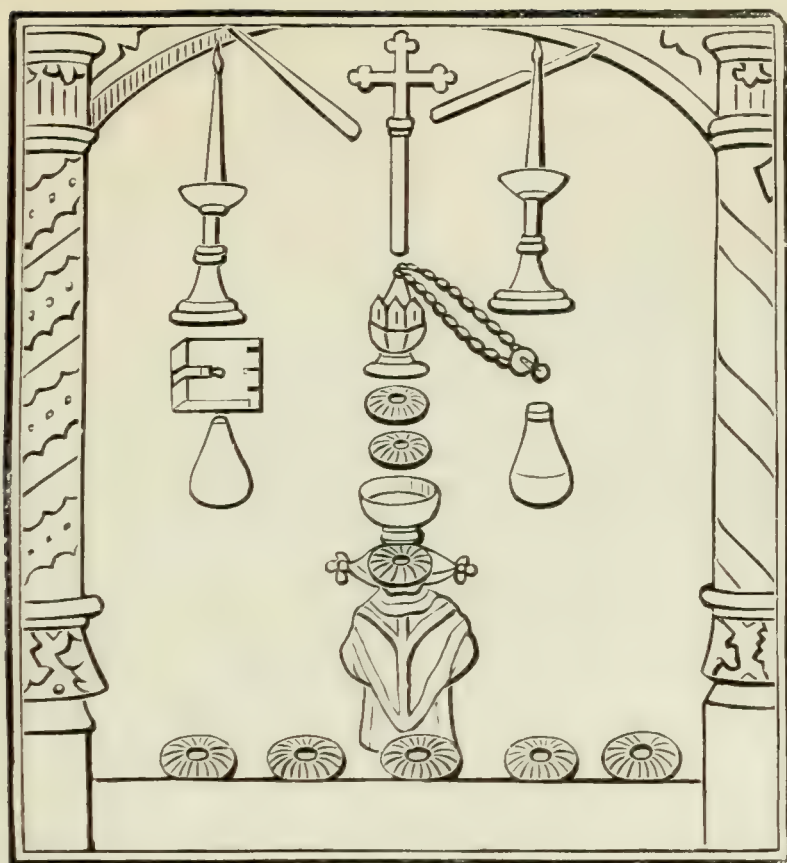
The ultimate basis of all use of incense in the Church is its pleasant odour ; that is, it is fumigatory. Nevertheless, the more superficial reasons are what are called ceremonial : the censing during the processional entry for mass, for instance, is a noteworthy example of an honorific or

the collect *Aufer a nobis* in the priest's preparation before mass : (4) the use of the anthem *Tollite portas* at the church doors, and the striking of the door with the cross, on Palm Sunday : (5) the washing of the altars with wine and water on Maundy Thursday.

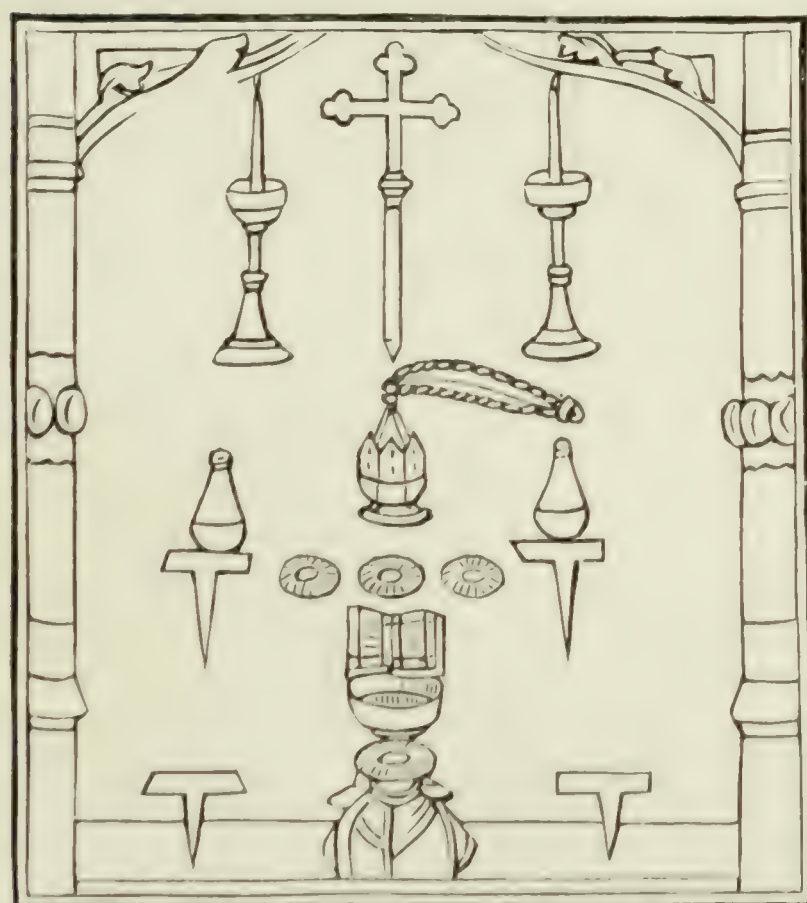
ceremonial use, in which the path, along which the celebrant is passing, is perfumed or fumigated in his honour as the bishop or his representative. Censing of persons in general is less obviously ceremonial, and almost purely fumigatory.

Incense has been adopted less by enactment than by the general though gradual concensus of Christian opinion, and its use at the present day rests on the same grounds ; except so far as the rubrics of the *Pian* rite, and the Ornaments' rubric of the Book of Common Prayer, and similar rubrics in the Oriental Liturgies have given stronger sanction to the general custom prevalent at the time when they were drawn up.

The use of incense is not an oecumenical ceremony, in the same sense that *e.g.*, the doctrine of the Incarnation or of the Resurrection is an oecumenical doctrine : it has never obtained *semper* nor *ubique*, nor been used *ab omnibus*, in the Catholic Church. But it is a minor ceremony, commonly used for many hundred years, in some way or other, in the Church : and the fact that the Church adopted it from extra-christian sources is no argument against its use. And when the Church appeals to us through our senses, it is not right that the sense of smell should be rudely neglected or offended : for the congregating of many human persons together is as productive of offence to the sense of smell in this twentieth century as it was in the days of St. Thomas Aquinas.



The station while the litany is sung at the font on Easter Even.



The station at the font on Easter Day at Evening.

Diagram from *Sacra Processional*.

APPENDIX

RULES FOR CENSING FROM VARIOUS USES

PRAYERS OF INCENSE IN WESTERN RITES

EXTRACTS FROM THE STATUTES OF THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH
OF WELLS RELATING TO THE USE OF INCENSE, 1340.

FROM H. E. REYNOLDS, *Wells Cathedral*, LEEDS, 1881.

The directions for censuring at mass are identical and verbatim with those in the Sarum Consuetudinary, in the section dealing with the first Sunday in Advent. Incense is carried in : the priest censes the altar, *diaconi ministerio* ; is then himself censed by the deacon and kisses the text offered by the subdeacon. The altar is censed in the midst by the deacon during the prose : incense is used in the gospel-procession, p. 36.

After the priest has intoned *Credo in unum Deum* he is censed by the deacon. The quire is censed during *Credo*, p. 37.

The priest censes the oblations thrice cross-wise, thrice in circles ; then on either side of the sacrifice. The deacon censes the left part of the altar, and the relics, then the altar *in circuitu*.

But on p. 9 the special customs of the Church of Wells appear, as follows.

Quando chorus incensari debet.

Incensari debet altare et chorus, in omni duplici festo et simplici cum regimine chori, ad vespervas et ad matutinas, dum dicitur *Magnificat* et *Benedictus* : preterea in omni maiori duplici extra tempus paschale in singulis nocturnis ad legendam quintam et octavam

lectionem, et *Te Deum laudamus*. In paschali tempore, nec in minoribus duplicibus aliquo tempore, incensatur ad lectionem ad matutinas, nisi tantum ad *Te Deum laudamus* et *Benedictus*.

Ad missam in omni maiori duplici incensatur altare a solo sacerdote in initio misse; secundo, inchoato *Gloria in excelsis*; tertio, a diacono ante evangelio; quarto, calicem et altare, ab ipso sacerdote, dicto Offertorio, ante ablutionem manuum.

In aliis vero festis non incensatur nisi ante Evangelium, et ante ablutionem manuum (p. 10) post offertorium.

Chorus autem non incensatur nisi post Evangelium dum canitur *Credo in unum Deum*; et in maioribus dum canitur *Gloria in excelsis*.

Censing at *Magnificat* and *Benedictus* on simple feasts.

Sacerdos . . . incenset primo in medio deinde in dextra parte, post in sinistra. Exinde imaginem beati Andrea, postea archam in qua continentur reliquie. Deinde thurificando altare circumeat. Deinde tumulos episcoporum. Then the bishop and choir. Hec autem omnia fiant dum Antiphona super *Magnificat* et *Benedictus* et Psalmos psallitur.

On doubles, two thurifers with censers (p. 10).

EXTRACTS FROM THE RUBRICS, ETC., OF THE YORK BOOKS RELATING TO CENSING.

(*Missale ad usum insignis ecclesiae eboracensis*, Surtees Society, 1874: vol i).

The entry for mass.

Praecedentibus ceroferariis et duobus thuriferis, introeat ad altare [p. 124, Easter Even].

Cum . . . thuriferis et ceroferariis, ad altare [96, Maundy Thursday] praeuntibus ceroferariis introeat ad altare [101, Good Friday].

Censing at the entry.

In dextro cornu altaris dicat Officium; et postea incenset altare [166, *Ordo missae*,]

Deinde thurificetur altare more solito [124, Easter Even]

At the gospel.

Nothing mentioned in massbook: but in Chr. Bainbridges' Pontifical (Abp. York 1508-14) in the *Ordinatio Diaconorum* is the following:

Tunc ille qui lecturus est evangelium, incensato prius altaris medio, benedictionem petat (Surtees Society, 1875; p.32).

Censing of the choir.

Dum canitur *Credo*, subdiaconus cum textu et acolythus cum turibulo chorum circumeant [171, Ordo Missae].

After the offertory.

Sacrificioque super altari collocato, vinum aqua mixtum non sanctificatum in calice ponat, et turificet [107, Good Friday].

EXTRACTS FROM DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE CHURCH OF
HEREFORD CONTAINING DIRECTIONS FOR THE USE OF
INCENSE AND LIGHTS.

M. = *Missale ad usum percelebris ecclesiae Herfordensis*, Leeds, 1874.

C. = Hereford *Consuetudines*, in H. Bradshaw and Chr. Wordsworth, *Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral*, Cambridge, 1892-97; part ij, pp 36-89.

O = Hereford MS *Ordinale*, Brit. Mus. MS Harl. 2983.

Processions.

Prouideat Succentor quod habeat v pueros . . . qui . . . cruces, candelabra, turribula in processionibus portent (C. 76, 83).

The entry for mass.

Notandum quod tam in festis quam in feriis portantur ij cerei accensi coram sacerdote ad maius altare, qui semper durante missa debent ardere, et reportari similiter coram eodem reuertente (C. 64).

At the gospel.

Diaconus antequam procedat ad pronuntiandum Evangelium, thurificet medium Altaris tantum. Numquam thurificetur lectrinum, neque ad Missam neque ad matutinas, ante pronuntiationem Evangelii (M. 117).

Quia etiam pro defectu discipline in cereis, seu cruce, seu turribulis portandis, cum ad maius altare incensandum uel

ad legendum evangelium de more fit processus, per insolentiam Puerorum appareat defectus ; volentes tanto incommodo remedium apponere, Succentori iniungimus vt pueros suos habeat paratos qui incensaturos, uel evangelium lecturos debito modo cum cereis et turribulis precedant, et non prepostere sicut aliquando uidimus subsequantur (C. 84).

At the offertory.

Nothing at all in *Ordo misse* : but on Good Friday is the following, after the reserved Host has been set on the altar : Postea vinum et aquam in calicem infundat, et calicem loco suo constituat, et incenset coram Altari. Confessione dicta, humili voce sic inferat (M. 96). But in O (fo. 30) more correctly it runs : Postea episcopus calciatus lotis manibus casulum induat, et corpus domini ad altare deferet, et incenset, et coram altari confessione dicta humili voce sic inferat : *oremus*.

EXTRACTS FROM THE STATUTES OF THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF LICHFIELD C. 1190.

H. Bradshaw and Chr. Wordsworth, *Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral*, Cambridge 1892-97 ; pt. ij, p. 14.

The entry for mass.

Deseruitur eciam maiori altari cum ceroferariis et turribulo in omnibus festis novem lectionum ad utrasque vespervas, et ad matutinas, et ad missam.

The gospel.

Semper in dupplicibus festis habentibus sibi processionem adiunctam, duo diaconi et duo subdiaconi, cum duobus turribulariis, et aliis duobus in capis sericis cruces duas [portantibus], Euangelium legentem precedentibus cum ceroferariis precedant.

In festis vero novem lectionum feriatis, et quando inuitatorium a tribus cantatur, et in omnibus diebus dominicis, crux portetur cum turribulo et ceroferariis ante eum qui Evangelium leget.

In the statutes as printed by Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, London, 1817-1830 ; vol. VI, pt. iij, p. 1255, there are many mistakes, and instead of two in silk copes carrying two crosses we have, *iribus in dalmaticis cruces tres*.

EXTRACTS FROM THE LINCOLN STATUTES WITH DIRECTIONS
FOR CENSING.

H. Bradshaw and Chr. Wordsworth, *Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral*, Cambridge, 1892-97 (*e Consuetudinario de divinis officiis*, 1390-1400) t. i, p 368.

The censing at Evensong.

Cum incensatores venerint ad gradum superiorem altaris, genibus flexis dicant *Ave Maria*. Et surgant terram osculando, tapeto super pauimentum expanso, et ibi erunt turiferarii duo cum turibulis in manibus eorum cum tempus venerit de turibulis predictis cum incenso eisdem ministrantes. Sacrista literato ministratores sequente in superpellicio et cum incenso. Unde magno altari incensato medietatem osculabuntur altaris. Deinde incensent tumbam sancti Remigii; et hoc facto dicant insimul in eundo psalmum *Magnificat*; et incensent ambo altare ubi celebratur missa beate Marie hora prime, deinde tumbam sancti Hugonis. Et tunc diuident se uno incensante ex parte australi, et altero ex parte boreali; et sic successiue omnia incensabunt altaria et tumbas, uno ceroferario precedente decanum euntem ex australi parte, et alio precentorem euntem ex parte boreali; Et cum venerint ad altaria, se inclinabunt, et omnia facient sicut in magno fecerunt altari, tapetis ante altaria expansis. Incensatis ergo altaribus ibunt simul in chorum, unus a parte qua stallum habet, et inferior ex altera.

Quod si episcopus presens fuerit et celebret, incensatis omnibus altaribus, debet episcopus incensari ab eisdem sacerdotibus qui incensant omnia altaria (p. 369).

At Mattins, p. 372.

Incipiat cui preest officium in stallo capa serica indutus *Te Deum laudamus*, et tunc ad incensandum magnum altare eat cum socio suo qui incensauit in primis vesperis et eodem modo cum turiferarijs et ceroferarijs, set tantum incensetur altare.

Processions, p. 375.

Tercio, duo turiferarij, cum turibulis in manibus, albis et tunicis induti.

Entry for mass, p. 376.

Et incepto *Gloria Patri* officii misse accedat sacerdos ad

altare predictum precedentibus iij Diaconis et iij Subdiaconis et ij turiferarijs et bedellis iiij episcopi.

At the gospel, &c., p. 379.

Et preparent se omnes ministri altaris ad eundum pro euangelio lecturo, scilicet iij diaconi et iij subdiaconi, principalibus diacono et subdiacono textus portantibus, et ij turiferarij, et ij ceroferarij, et ij clerici pueri ferentes cruces, et hii omnes per chorum exeant. Set in eundo ad euangelium diaconi ire debent ex parte dextra chori, precedentibus uno turiferario et ceroferario et una cruce ; et subdiaconi ex sinistra precedentibus uno turiferario, et ceroferario, cum cruce. (*After the gospel the subdeacon*) dabit sacerdoti euangelium ad osculandum. Hoc facto venient diaconus principalis et secundarius cum turibulis ad incensandum sacerdotem. Deinde debent hii omnes diaconi incensari locis suis per manus turiferarii, set principalis diaconus debet incensari ab ambobus turiferarijs simul, et debet osculari deinde textus ambos ; deinde eant in chorum ad incensandum vtriusque partem chori, subdiacono principali et secundario cum textibus succedentibus, principali a parte dextra, secundario a sinistra, et debent omnes de choro osculari crucifixum ; et hoc fiat dum dicitur *Credo*. Et *Credo* dicto, veniant turiferarii ad altare, et diaconus principalis acceptum turibulum dabit sacerdoti ad incensandum calicem et corporale ; et hoc facto debent diaconus principalis et secundarius sacerdotem incensare, deinde circa altare, deinde tumbas sanctorum.

Unde sciendum quando dicitur *Credo*, tunc incensetur chorus antequam tumbæ incensantur : et quando non dicitur *Credo*, tunc incensentur tumbæ antequam chorus incensetur.

(*E Novo Registro*, 1440). pt. ij, p. 276.

Si episcopus in missa presens fuerit alio celebrante petende sunt etiam ab eo benedictiones . . . turis deferendi ad Euangelium legendum.

Item primo est turificandus, si hoc in missa fiat.

(*Complaints to the bishop*, October, 1437) p. 366.

Quidam vero [canonici], dum incensant altaria in ecclesia, extrahunt secum meliores organistas in diminucionem cultus diuini.

From bp. William Alnwick's award on the mode of censing, 1 May, 1444) p. 509.

In omni principali duplici et minore duplici festo, quociens et quando chorus incensabitur, duo choriste turibularii simul in area sive super pauimentum chori predicti coram decano stantes, ipsum decanum in stallo suo decanali existentem quatuor turibulorum iactibus eorum vterque videlicet incenset. Et deinde diuidant se ipsi choriste, unus ad rectores chori ex parte australi, et alter chorista ex parte boreali ad incensandos eosdem rectores chori in area stantes ibidem. Et ipsis rectoribus chori sic incensatis redeant iidem choriste ad occidentem ad stalla capitalia, et ibi in area stantes ibidem, vnus ex parte australi, alter vero ex parte boreali, ceteros dignitates habentes et canonicos in stallis capitalibus ibidem existentes tribus iactibus incensent prius; et ex tunc vnus chorista ad superiorem gradum versus austrum, alter vero chorista versus boriā assendendo de occidente in orientem, ex vtraque parte chori lento pede deuotoque animo, non transcurrento sed equanimiter progrediendo, ad orientem, ceteros dignitates habentes et canonicos in ipsis gradibus existentes, eorum videlicet quemlibet trina vice incensent.

(On other days, when the quire was censed, there was only onethurifer: but the number of "swings" or "casts" of the censer apportioned remained the same).

EXTRACTS FROM THE STATUTES OF ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL
CHURCH, LONDON, CONTAINING DIRECTIONS FOR
CENSING.

From W. Sparrow Simpson, *Registrum Statutorum et Consuetudinum Ecclesiae Cathedralis Sancti Pauli Londinensis*, London, 7183.

[End of 13th century]

Pars. I: cap. vii; p. 12.

Similiter faciant [*i.e.*, the Dean on the bishop's right, and the person next below him in rank on the left] quando iturus est ad incensandum altare dum *Magnificat* et *Benedictus* cantantur, et ita deducetur in omni processione maiorum festorum. Et cum episcopus maius altare incensaverit,

revertetur in stallum suum vel cathedram, et ipsi qui deduxerunt eum ibunt ad altaria incensanda, et redeunt ad episcopum turificabunt eum in stallo suo. Alias autem, sive fuerit in stallo cathedrali sive in choro, cum chorus fuerit incensandus ad matutinas et ad vespas per capellanum ebdomodarium incensabitur; ad missam vero per diaconum in altari ministrantem.

Pars. III: cap. xxxvi; p. 49.

Minoris quidem ordinis clerici et accoliti in calicem portando a vestibulo ad altare post evangelium in cereis et turibulis per suas vices et ebdomadas ministrant.

Ibid., cap. xxxvij.

Set in illis minoribus festis unus tantum cereus accenditur, et unus turibularius ministrat, cereo tamen sacerdotem precedente cum primo procedit ad altare: turibulo tunc primum accenso, cum subdiaconus post lectam epistolam a vestibulo corporalia defert ad altare; qui, calice altari superposito, post evangelium celebrata turificatione, circa illud et circa altaria vicina ad vestibulum revertitur, ceroferario in ministerio altaris donec consummatur officium permanente, qui per alios dies feriales solus ministrat et cantat. Et in festis ix leccionum et equipollentibus diaconus post evangelium per cantores et gradus superiores turibulum circumfert, subdiacono sequente cum textu evangelii deosculando. Inferiores autem gradus incensant ministri minores. Hec quidem fieri debent statim post evangelium dum *Credo* cantatur a choro, vel si non cantatur, post calicem turificatum, cum fuerit superpositus altari dum sacerdos ad ablucionem manuum suarum procedit.

Ibid., cap. xl; p. 50. *De officio dominicali.*

Duo ceroferarii cum cereis sacerdotem precedunt ad incensanda altaria dum canuntur Psalmi *Magnificat* et *Benedictus*, et accolitus cum turibulo ad vespas et ad matutinas, et idem ministrant in maiori missa, simul diebus autem ferialibus, ut superius est memoratum.

Ibid., cap. xlii; p. 51. *De modo officiandi in festis primae dignitatis.*

Ad incensandum altare duo sacerdotes cum duobus turibulis procedunt ad *Magnificat* et *Benedictus*.

Ibid., cap. xliii; p. 51. *Ordo processionis.*

Ad processionem duae precedunt cruces et duo turibula.

Ibid., cap. xlvij ; p. 53. *Quae sunt festa tertiae dignitatis.*

Unus sacerdos tus adolet [*at Evensong and Mattins*].

Ibid., cap. l ; p. 54. *Quae sunt festa quintae dignitatis.*

In quibus nec cantores chorum regunt, nec in vesperis aut in matutinis tus adoletur.

Pars. VI : cap. ij ; p. 80. *De officio Episcopi.*

Petendae sunt etiam ab eo benedictiones aquae miscendae cum vino, et turis deferendi ad evangelium legendum.

Primo est etiam turificandus, si hoc in missa fiat.

Si vero episcopus pontificalibus indutus ministrat in sollemnioribus festis ad vespervas et ad matutinas, residens in sua sede, duo maiores presentes sibi assistant in capis sericis, et duo accoliti albis et amictis induti duos cereos illuminatos ante eum teneant ad *Magnificat* et *Benedictus*, turificato per eum maiori altari. Duo sibi assistentes reliqua altaria more solito turificent, deinde episcopum, postmodum ipsi turificentur ab acolitis qui et chorum turificent ut est moris.

Ibid., cap. iij ; p. 80. *De modo turificandi ad Magnificat et ad Benedictus in festis sollemnioribus.*

In sollemnioribus festis cum fuerint altaria turificanda ad *Magnificat* et *Benedictus*, maior presens qui dixerit officium, dicto ad vespervas responsorio, et ad matutinas capitulo, et in ebdomada Paschae ad tertium psalmum Laudum et Vesperarum, una cum maiori vel seniori post ipsum, vel, si minor dicat officium, cum proximo maiore vel seniore ante ipsum presenti, ingrediatur vestibulum dicendo hymnum vel reliquos psalmos ; ibique, exuti capis, et loti manus, dicant antiphonam et *Magnificat* vel *Benedictus*. Induanturque capis sericis, et minor ibidem dicat orationem unam vel plures pro ratione temporis, quia maior eas dicet in choro. Tunc prostrati ante altare in vestibulo dicant antiphonam et orationem de sancta Ethelburga. Turificatoque altari et osculato, more ministrantium verso ad latus sinistrum maioris, quod semper et in cundo, et ante altaria orando, exeant sacristiam, et statim incensant ante Annunciationem Beatae Virginis, dicendo antiphonam *Missus est* cum oratione *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus* vel *Gratiam tuam*, terminando *Christum Dominum nostrum*. Deinde pariter ad feretrum

sancti Erkenwaldi, super stratorium ante altare ibi tensum a servientibus, flectent genua, dicentes antiphonam et orationem de sancto Erkenwaldo, et circumceant feretrum incensando, maior a dextris et minor a sinistris: deinde pariter ante altare beatæ Mariæ, genibus flexis, dicendo antiphonam et orationem beatæ Mariæ, incensent illud, et baptisterium similiter, si sit; et redeunt incensent exteriora altaria proxima, videlicet maior ex parte boreali, et minor ex parte australi; et illis deosculatis, tunc receptis ab eis turibulis, redeat minor ad maiorem qui ipsum expectabit ad altare beati Iohannis Baptistæ ex parte aquilonari, dicendo psalmum *De profundis* cum oratione *Deus qui inter apostolicos*, si tempus ad hoc sufficiat; et si fuerit officium prolixum ad dictum introitum presbyterii super aliquem sedem ibidem a servientibus ecclesiæ paratam sedeant, donec fere antiphona cantanda ante *Magnificat* terminetur. Tuncque progrediantur ad tumulum episcopi Rogeri exterius, ibique, flectentes genua, dicant antiphonam *Corpora sanctorum* cum oratione de Reliquiis. Osculatoque tumulo revertantur ad introitum supradictum, et cum incipitur psalmus *Magnificat* vel *Benedictus*, progrediantur ad altare et prostrati super gradum supremum dicant antiphonam *Gloriosi principes* cum oratione *Deus cuius dextera*. Surgentes autem turificent altare maius et reliquias, si quæ ibi positæ fuerint. Deinde, si fuerit festivitas sancti Pauli, vel sancti Petri, vel Reliquiarum, vel Sepulcrum Domini ibi fuerit, primo eant ambo ad titulum eius cuius est festivitas, et illum pariter turificent. Deinde maior incensent omnia turificanda in partem aquilonarem, et minor in partem australem altaris, quo facto tradentes turibula acolitis, pergant versus chorum, et in fine pavimenti convertant se ad altare inclinati, et cum se erexerint, minor se recipiat ad dexteram maioris, ita quod maior sit in ingressu chori a parte decani. Subsequenter ad ostium chori turificentur, et pergentes ad lectrinum, si decanus non fuerit, unus ministrantium qui non convertitur ad occidentem, inclinent se primo ad orientem, postea ad occidentem, convertentes ad lectrinum, ibique pariter morantes donec oratio dicenda fuerit.

(From Dean Cole's *Epitome of the Statutes*, 1505-1519.)

Cap. vi ; p. 222. *De subdecano.*

Item, more maioris canonici trina incensatione exhonestatur.

SYON MONASTERY, A HOUSE OF BRIGETTINES NEAR
ISLEWORTH, MIDDLESEX.

From G. J. Aungier, *History and Antiquities of Syon Monastery*, London, 1840.

The sustres use no sensyng . . . instead of encense they use deuote prayer. (p. 336).

On all double feasts, Sundays, days with a triple invitatory, all Easter week, and on the feasts of St. Katharin, and of the Eleven Thousand Virgins, "the taperers schal be holde, and the hygh autyr and quyer sensyd at matens, masse, and euensonge, and in the begynnyng of masse aftyr *confiteor*, and azene before the gosbel. Also aftyr the gosbel the sacryfyse schal be sensyd eche day in the zere ; but the quyer schal neuer be sensyd in masse tyme, but whylst the crede is in syngyng, yf ther be any. And in eche of the seyde festys and days a tapete schal be leyde before the hygh autyr. (p. 336).

"And he that kepeth the sensour schal say *Benedicite*, oute take at hyghe masse and lady masse, for then the dekon schal say it. Also he that kepeth the sensour schal holde up the rygthe syde of the cope whylst the preste senseth at euensonge and at matens. And after the sensyng of the auter he schal sense the preste in hys place iij castes, and than he schal go in to the quyer and sense the confessour in hys stalle as many inclynynge to hem bothe before and aftyr. Then he schal sense the quyer, fyrst the ryght syde and aftyr the lefte, eche preste and dekon two castys, and eche voyde stall except the confessours one. And than he schal sense eche taperer two castys inclynynge before and aftyr, but neuer no mo of the lay brethren. Whyche doon, he schal inclyne at the lowest gree of the autyr, and bere up the sensour in to the reuestry azene, or els stonde styl ther tyl the procession goeth forth to the crosse, yf any procession be, doynge such obseruaunce as belongeth ther to. In festys clepyd *Mainus duplex* ther

schal be two sensours at euensonge and matyns, and a schyp berer. And he schal than say *Benedicite* to the preste tofore encense be put in to the sensours; but at fyrste euensonge schal be ij schyp berers, so that in sensyng of the autyrs one of hem, and oo taperer, and oo sensour go before the preste of the ryght syde, and ther felaws the same wyse before the preste of the lefte syde, al in surplys. Whan al be comne in to the quyer a3ene, the secondary preste schal sense the fyrste, and the principal senser of the lay brethren schal sense the seyde secondary preste thre castys. Whych done, they schal, one at oo syde and another at other syde, sense the rectours, the quyer and taperers, as it is seyde before, eche of hem two castys and, eche voyde stall one, with dewe inclynacions, and than go ther ways. If so be that the confessour be presente in the quyer, and not executeth seruyse, he schal be sensyd iij castys, after the rectours, by the pryncipal sensour. The taperers, after tyme they be sensyd, they schal stonde by the preste conformyng hem to the obseruaunces of the quyer as moche as they may. And it is to be markyd that in our lady masse schal be no tapers, but at the dysposicion of the general confessour, be cause the prestys than beyng at masse schal not be lefte a lone with oute helpe (p. 337).

On Whitsunday at Terce.

“Whan [the lady] masse is endyd, the schyp and iij sensours, al in surplys, schal go before the prestys oute of the reuestry to the autyr, of the whiche the fyrst taperer schal holde one of the sensours, al stondyng behynd the prestys in order, and euer redy to mynyster ther sensours whan tyme askethe, holdyng up the copes as it is acordyng, whyst the autyr is in sensyng. Before the first verse of the seyde ympne the confessour schal blysse the encense and put it in to the sensours, but at al other verse the schyp berer schal do it with oute blyssyng; and the ympne al endyd, they schal inclyne and bere in ther sensours a3ene, and than the tapers schal be quenched and not before (p. 356).

“The minyster of our Lady masse schal kepe the secunde sensour (p. 363).

“Also the first taperer schal holde the iij^{de} sensour on Witsonday as it is seyde in the xlvth chaptyr (pp. 363-4).

[To face p. 385.]

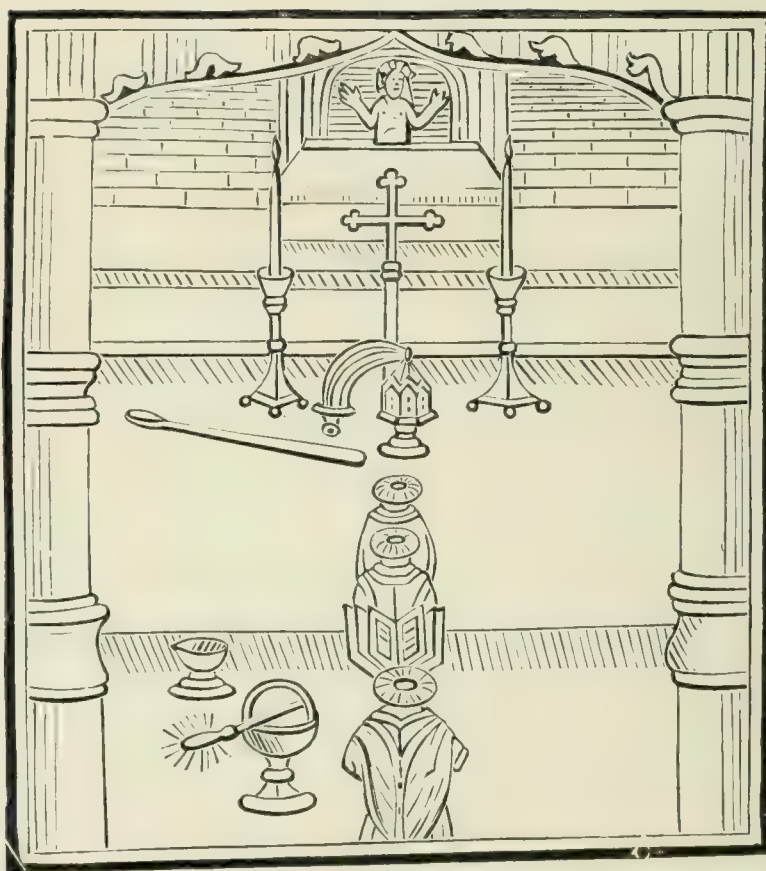


Diagram from the Sarum processional for the station while holy water is blessed before the procession on Sundays.

"The schyp berer schal bere the schyp with encense as ofte as ther be mo sensours then one behynd the sensours. (p. 364).

"Before *Magnificat* and *Benedictus*, when the autyr is is to be sensyd, the taperer of the lefte syde schal li3t other ij tapers [*i.e.* besides 'the ij tapers up on the grate candelstikkes' before the high altar] up on the autyr." (p. 368).

EXTRACTS FROM THE SARUM CONSUECUDINARIUM AND CUSTUMARIUM, RELATING TO CENSING.

From W. H. Frere, *The Use of Sarum*, Cambridge, 1898 ; vol. i.

A. THE SARUM CONSUECUDINARY, c. 1210.

Evensong, p. 44.

In penultimo uersu ymni exeat sacerdos ad cappam sericam assumendam. . . . Interim autem ceroferarii introeant, et, acceptis candelabris ueniant obuam sacerdoti ad gradum presbyterij. Deinde sacerdos ponat thus in thuribulo benedicendo, et procedat ad altare, et, facta genuflectione ante altare, illud incenset, primo in medio, deinde in dextera parte, postea in sinistra; exinde ymaginem beate marie et postea archam in quo continentur reliquie; deinde thurificando altare circumeat: hoc peracto sacerdos accedat ad extremum gradum ante altare, et ad altare se inclinet: et, precedentibus ceroferariis et thuribulo, in stallo huic officio deputato se recipiat. Deinde puer ipsum sacerdotem ibidem in stallo suo incenset: postea rectores chori incipiens a principali: deinde superiorem gradum ex parte Decani incipiens ab ipso decano: postea superiorem gradum ex parte cantoris eodem ordine: exinde secundas formas et primas formas secundum ordinem: ita ut puer ipse singulos incensando illis inclinet: hec autem fiant dum antiphona super *Magnificat* incipiatur, et psalmus psallitur.

Blessing of holy water, p. 52.

Dominica prima in adventu domini, peractis hiis qui ad capitulum pertinent, sacerdos ebdomadarius cum diacono et subdiacono textum deferente et puero deferente thuribulum et ceroferariis et acolito crucem deferente,

omnibus albis indutis, et ad altare in medio presbiterii conuersis, in capa serica ad gradum chori aquam benedictum faciat.

pp. 61-2.

Dominica prima in aduentu domini peracta processione dum canitur tercia, executor officii et sui ministri ad missam dicendam se induant.

pp. 65-6. Hiis peractis ceroferarii cum cereis super candelabra ardentibus ad gradum altaris dimittant. Post humiliacionem uero sacerdos ad altare factam ipsum altare thurificat diaconi ministerio: deinde ab ipso diacono ipse sacerdos thurificetur, et postea textum ministerio subdiaconi deosculetur.

p. 69. Interim eciam ueniant duo ceroferarii obuiam acolito ad ostium presbiterii, cum ueneratione ipsum calicem ad locum predictae administracionis deferant, offertorio et corporalibus ipsi calici superpositis. . . . Calice itaque in loco debito deposito, corporalia ipse acolitus super altare solemniter deponat. . . Quo facto, ceroferarii candelabra cum cereis ad gradum altaris dimittant.

pp. 72-3. Dum prosa canitur, diaconus ipse altare thurificet. Deinde ad commonicionem puerorum ministrantium a choro ad ministeria sua redeuncium, accepto textu euangeliorum et data ei humiliato benedictione, et ceroferariis et thuribulo precedente, subdiacono librum leccionis euangelice deferente, per medium chori ad pulpitem accedat, textum ipsum super sinistram [partem] manuum solempniter gestando.

p. 75. Post inpcionem *Credo in unum* sacerdos ipse ministerio diaconi thurificetur et postea ministerio subdiaconi textum [sacerdos] deosculetur. Quo peracto, chorus ministerio pueri more solito incensetur, sequente subdiacono textum deosculandum singulis [clericis] eo ordine quo incensantur porrigente.

p. 76. Postea ordinato sacrificio et debito modo disposito, sacerdos sacrificium ministerio diaconi ter in [calice] signo crucis thurificet, deinde ter in circuitu, postea ex utraque parte sacrificii.

p. 77. Quo peracto sacerdos manus abluat ministerio subdiaconi et aliorum ministrorum, [sub]diacono interim

ipsum altare in sinistro cornu incensante et reliquias more solito in circuitu.

Mattins, p. 32.

In ceteris autem festis duplicibus per annum ad utrasque uesperas et ad matutinas non incensatur nisi altare principale tantum et chorus. Similiter in singulis Nocturnis ad matutinas et ad *Te deum laudamus* non incensatur altare neque chorus. Et ad primas uesperas nec ad matutinas neque ad secundas uesperas non tota cantetur antiphona super psalmum *Magnificat* antequam psalmus intonetur, sed statim, postquam incipiatur antiphona, psalmus *Magnificat* intonetur.

pp. 121-2 (*Christmas Day*).

Sciendum quod in singulis nocturnis ad secundam quintam et octauam leccionem incensetur altare [auctenticum] ab aliquo sacerdote in capa serica ex utraque parte chori uicissim assumpto : chorus quoque ab uno solo puero incensetur.

Finito ultimo responsorio et cantato euangelio liber generacionis, principalis sacerdos in capa serica loco non mutato incipiat *Te deum*. Postea cum suo secundario sacerdote thure ipsis thuribulis ab ipso principali[ore] sacerdote ante gradum chori imposito [auctenticum] altare incensent modo predicto : cetera altaria non incensentur.

Sciendum tamen quod quando episcopus presens fuerit, ab eo semper thus a sacerdote uel [a] diacono thuribulis imponendum fiat benedictio, loco non mutato.

p. 155 (*Easter Day*).

In die pasche [ad matutinas] tres antiphone super psalmos eodem modo discurrant sicut tres prime [antiphone] in die Natalis [domini] ; et tres lecciones et tria responsoria sicut in tercio nocturno diei natalis [domini]. Preterea altare non incensetur hoc die nisi ad *Te deum laudamus* et *Benedictus*.

Lauds, &c, p. 97.

Preterea non incensatur altare ad uesperas nec ad matutinas post psalmum *Magnificat* uel post psalmum *Benedictus*.

p. 126.

Preterea in hiis festis non incensatur nisi principale

altare ad utrasque uesperas nec ad matutinas. Ad matutinas in nocturnis [non] incensatur altare neque chorus.

B. THE SARUM CUSTUMARY, xiv cent.

Evensong: on major double feasts. pp. 113 sq.

Post inchoacionem antiphonæ super psalmum *Magnificat* procedat executor officij cum alio sacerdote post illum excellentiorem persona sacerdote, thure ipsius thuribuli ab ipso principali sacerdote ad gradum chori imposito, ad thurificandum altare cum duobus thuribulariis, de quorum uno ministrabit puer ebdomadarius, de reliquo uero alius puer pro dispositione sacristarum. Facta itaque genuflexione ante altare osculentur gradus altaris: deinde surgant et thurificent altare, primo in medio, deinde ex utraque parte principalis in dextra parte, (tercio in medio): exinde ymaginem de sancto de quo est ecclesia. Deinde excellencior thurificando altare circumeat: secundario uero ex parte altaris boreali interim stante, postea thurificent simul ex utroque latere principali ex parte australi. Secundarius autem ex parte boreali ut prius dictum est.

Ad alia quoque altaria circa presbiterium thurificanda excellencior sacerdos exeat per hostium presbiterii boreale, procedentibus uno ceroferario, uno turribulario, et sacrista in manu uirgam gestante, procedente ductore, primo ad altare sancti Marci, et secundo ad altare sancte Katerine dehinc ad altare apostolorum, ultimo ad altare omnium sanctorum quod dicitur *Salve*.

Secundarius per hostium presbiterii australe predicto modo exeat cum altero ceroferario et cum altero turribulario, primo ad altare sancti Nicholai, dehinc ad altare sancte Marie magdalene, ultimo ad altare sancti Stephani.

Si Episcopus autem fuerit officij executor ipse cum excellenciore persona autenticum altare tantum thurificat, ipse autem circueat altare, et eiusdem dextrum cornu thurificet, dicto excellenciore thurificante sinistrum cornu.

Si Episcopus non fuerit presens, tunc excellencior thurificando altare circueat, secundario uero ex parte altaris boreali interim stante; postea thurificent simul ex utroque latere principali ex parte australi. (In die tamen pasche et

per ebdomadam thurificetur sepulchrum domini post primam thurificationem altaris, scilicet antequam thurificator altaris circumbeat).

p. 115.

Hiis itaque peractis ad extremum gradum ante altare uterque se inclinat ad altare, episcopo postea incensante tumbam domini Symonis episcopi, excellenciore uero tumbam domini Rogeri episcopi. Deinde ipse secundarius cum capellano episcopi procedant ambo per hostium presbiterii boreale ad thurificandum cetera altaria per ecclesiam, excellencior persona in unam partem secundarius in alteram, sicut supra. Quibus thurificatis, ambo conuenient ad hostium presbiterii ex parte australi, et sic intrent et thurificent episcopum in sua sede.

Deinde inferior incenset superiorem ante gradum chori, et hoc in aliis dupplicibus quando non incensantur omnia altaria.

Similiter obseruetur quod scilicet excellencior post episcopum et ipsius episcopi capellanus simul thurificent episcopum in sede sua et inferior superiorem ut supra. Set si episcopus fuerit presens et non exequatur officium, excellencior et secundus simul incensent episcopum et hoc uerum si occupet sedem suam: et cetera ut supra. Si episcopus non fuerit presens secundarius incenset superiorem in stallo sacerdotali ebdomadario ad hoc officium constituto ceroferariis ibidem astantibus.

Deinde pueri thuribulis thurificent rectores chori, incipientes a principalibus: postea unus eorum thurificet superiorem gradum ex parte decani, incipiens ab ipso decano uel a proximioe stallo, eo absente: exinde secundas formulas et primas formas eodem ordine: alius uero puer thurificet superiorem gradum ex parte cantoris simili modo.

Solus episcopus locum non mutat dicendo collectam. Si uero episcopus non exequatur officium, tunc executor ad gradum chori dicet oracionem.

Infinita antiphona post *Magnificat* dicat sacerdos oracionem ad gradum chori, ceroferariis ad eum conuersis unus a dextris et alius sinistris: quod per totum obseruetur ad uesperas et ad matutinas quando chorus regitur et in cena domini ad uesperas tantum. Si uero episcopus officium

exequitur tunc ad collectam dicendam locum non mutat. *Benedicamus* a duobus de secunda forma in superpelliceis dicitur in medio choro inter rectores principales et secundarios pariter stantibus.

Mattins on major double feasts. p. 121.

Sciendum est autem quod in singulis nocturnis, scilicet ad secundam et ad quintam et ad octauam leccionem thurificatur altare ab aliquo sacerdote in capa serica ex utraque parte chori uicissim assumpto: chorus quoque ab uno solo puero. Finito nono responsorio, sacerdos in capa serica, loco non mutato, incipiat *Te deum laudamus*. Postea cum suo secundario sacerdote, thure ipsius thuribuli ab ipso principali sacerdote ante gradum chori imposito, altare thurificet predicto modo: cetera autem altaria non thurificentur sed principalis sacerdos thurificetur a suo secundario eciam in ingressa stalli scilicet super gradum inter formulas, ceroferariis uero interim ad gradum chori expectantibus quousque thurificetur chorus.

Sciendum tamen quod quandocunque presens fuerit episcopus, ab eo semper thus a sacerdote vel diacono turribulis imponendum fiat benedictio, loco non mutato: sic uidelicet accedant ceroferarii coram episcopo unus ad cornu sedis occidentale et alius ad orientale: thus uero in medio benedicatur: quod obseruandum est tam in singulis nocturnis quando in ipsis incensetur altare quam ad *Magnificat* uel *Benedictus*: chorus eciam a duobus pueris incensetur supradicto modo. Quando uero non dicitur *Te deum laudamus* sed nonum responsorium repetitur tunc non thurificetur altare nec chorus.

p. 155.

In die pasche . . . altare non thurificetur hac die nisi ad *Te deum* et ad *Benedictus*.

p. 175.

(In ascensione domini) . . . ad matutinas in antiphonis incipiendis . . . et de thurificatione idem ordo et modus seruetur ut in die pasche.

p. 97. *On ferials, and feasts of three lessons without rulers of the quire.*

Preterea non thurificatur altare nec chorus in feriis neque in festis trium lectionum sine regimine chori ad

matutinas neque ad uesperas neque ad *Benedictus* neque ad *Magnificat*.

p. 183. *On simples, Sundays, on and within octaves when the quire is ruled and in commemorations of B. M.V. throughout the year.*

Dum versiculus canitur introeant ceroferarii, et acceptis candelabris ueniant obuam sacerdoti ad gradum presbiterii : procedat puer cum turribulo ad sacerdotem dicendo *Benedicite* : respondeat sacerdos sic benedicendo, *Ab ipso sanctificetur in cuius honore incensum cremabitur, in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti. Amen.* Et sic inponat thus in thuribulum et procedat ad altare, et facta genuflexione ante altare terram deosculando, incenset ipsum altare primo ter in medio deinde ter in dextera parte postea ter in sinistra parte : [deinde iterum in medio *according to Br. Mus. MS Harl. 1001, from Risby, Suffolk* : exinde ter ad imaginem beate marie hoc est in medio altaris, postea arcam in que continentur reliquie [*this for Sarum : other MSS. have instead de sancto de quo est ecclesia*] : deinde thurificando altare circueat altare. Hoc peracto sacerdos ad extremum gradum ante altare ad altare se inclinet, et precedentibus ceroferariis et thuribulario solus ille episcopus si presens fuerit scilicet in sede sua thurificet et sic in stallo huic officio deputato in sinistro parte chori se recipiat.

p. 184. Deinde ipse puer ipsum sacerdotem ibidem thurificet. Postea thurificet rectores chori, incipiens a principali : deinde superiorem gradum ex parte decani, incipiens a decano, ipsum scilicet thurificando extra formulas uel infra formulas, inchoando ab eo qui eius stallo stat proximior si decanus non fuerit presens : postea superiorem gradum ex parte cantoris eodem ordine : exinde secundas formas et primas simili ordine ita ut puer ipse singulos clericos incensando illis inclinet.

Si uero episcopus fuerit officii executor ipsum in sede sua capellanus proprius incensabit. Hec autem omnia fiant dum antiphona super *Magnificat* incipitur et psalmus psallitur.

p. 185.

Hoc autem per totum annum obseruetur ad utrasque uesperas et ad matutinas ad *Magnificat* et ad *Benedictus* per

totum annum quandocunque chorus regitur, nisi in festis duplicibus tantum: tunc enim thurificetur altare a duobus sacerdotibus et chorus a duobus pueris ut supradictum est.

p. 187.

Preterea ad utrasque uesperas et ad matutinas ad *Magnificat* et ad *Benedictus* thurificetur altare ab uno solo sacerdote uidelicet ab executore officii in capa serica: chorus uero ab uno solo puero.

p. 250. *On double feasts.* [Only in Bodleian MS. Rawlinson A.371 (15,450), xvth cent.]. Item ad utrasque Uesperas et ad Matutinas ad *Benedictus* et *Magnificat* thurificetur altare a duobus sacerdotibus in capis sericis. Similiter fiat ad *Te deum* in festis duplicibus quandocunque dicitur. Chorus uero a duobus pueris thurificetur. Quando enim non dicitur *Te deum* in festis duplicibus ut in aduentu et quadragesima, tunc non thurificetur altare nec chorus in repetitione ultimi responsorii.

MASS. (Advent Sunday.)

p. 62. Officio misse inchoato cum post officium *Gloria patri* inchoatur, executor cum suis ministris presbiterium intret et ad altare ordinatim accedant: primo ceroferarii duo pariter incedentes, deinde turribularius, &c.

The censuring at the entry. p. 65.

Deinde ponat diaconus thus in turribulum et dicat diaconus prius sacerdoti *Benedicite*. Sacerdos dicat *Dominus. Ab ipso benedicatur in cuius honore cremabitur. In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti: Amen.* Tunc diaconus ei turribulum tradens deosculetur manum eius, et ipse sacerdos thurificet medium et utrumque cornu altaris: deinde ab ipso diacono ipse sacerdos thurificetur et postea textum ministerio subdiaconi sacerdos deosculetur.

Between the Epistle and the Gospel. p. 71.

Dum *Alleluya* uel tractus uel sequentia canitur a choro, diaconus casula sua, quando utitur, humerum sinistrum modo stole succinctus, se preparet, et accedens abluens manus, corporalia in altare deferet, &c.

p. 72.

Et dum *Alleluya* sequentia uel tractus canitur, diaconus antequam accedat ad euangelium pronunciandum, thurificet medium altaris tantum. Nunquam enim thurificet lectrinum neque ad missam neque ad matutinas ante pronuntiationem euangelii.

The gospel procession. p. 73.

Sic procedat diaconus per medium chori, ipsum textum super sinistram manum solempniter gestandum ad pulpitem accedat, cum ceroferario et thuribulario precedente, subdiacono iterum casula induto, quando utitur, librum euangelice lectionis deferente. Et si duplex festum fuerit crux precedat, que quasi a dextris erit legentis euangelium, facie crucifixi ad legentem conuersa.

During the reading (p. 74) thuribularius uero stet post diaconum ad eum conuersus.

The offertory censuring. p. 75.

Dum, a toto choro non alternando canitur *Credo in unum*, accedat diaconus post lectum euangelium et offerat sacerdoti librum euangeliorum uel textum deosculandum in sinistris eius. . . Deinde porrigat sacerdoti calicem cum patena et sacrificio et osculetur manum eius utraque uice. [*the passage goes on to describe the offertory*] . . p. 76. Hoc peracto accipiat thuribulum a diacono et thurificet sacrificium, uidelicet ultra ter signum crucis faciens et ter in circuitu calicis, et ex utraque parte calicis et sacrificii. Deinde locum inter se et altare disponat. Et dum thurificet dicat *Dirigatur domine ad te oratio mea sicut incensum*. Postea thurificetur ipse sacerdos ab ipso diacono, et subdiaconus deferat ei textum deosculandum. Deinde acolitus thurificet chorum, incipiens a rectoribus chori : deinde superiorem gradum ex parte decani, incipiens ab ipso decano uel a proximiori stallo, eo absente ; postea superiorem gradum ex parte cantoris eodem ordine ; exinde secundas formas et primas simili ordine. Ita quod ipse puer singulos clericos incensando illis inclinet, subsequente eo subdiacono cum textu ab omnibus deosculandum.

Si episcopus celebrauerit et duplex festum fuerit, duo ueniunt cum thuribulo et duo diaconi cum duobus textibus uel reliquiis. Si autem episcopus non celebrauerit et

duplex festum fuerit, textum deferatur ab acolito ex parte cantoris : primo autem thurificandus est cantor qui stat in medio chori cum ceteris rectoribus chori, ut tenetur in festis maioribus dupplicibus tantum.

Deinde principales rectores chori ex utraque parte sui : exinde duo rectores secundarii : postea chorus more solito, eodem quoque ordine sequuntur textus.

Si presens fuerit episcopus et non exequatur officium, diaconus ab eo benedictionem accipiat ad pronunciandum euangelium, et post lectum euangelium per episcopum transeundo eum primum incensabit, et postea subdiaconus textum ei apertum deosculandum porrigat.

Post *Credo in unum* dicat sacerdos *Dominus vobiscum* et *Oremus* et offerendam.

Quando uero non dicitur *Credo* dicat sacerdos *Dominus vobiscum* et *Oremus* tunc immediate. Post *Oremus* et offerendam, accedat diaconus et offerat calicem sacerdoti cum patena ; et cetera supradicto modo expleantur, et thurificet sacrificium more solito, sed chorus non thurificetur : nunquam enim thurificetur chorus post euangelium ad missam nisi quando dicitur *Credo in unum*, sed tunc semper.

Hiis ita peractis eat sacerdos ad dextrum cornu altaris et abluat manus ministerio subdiaconi et aliorum ministrorum ita dicens, *Munda me domine ab omni inquinamento, &c.*, diacono interim ipsum altare in sinistro cornu thurificante et reliquias more solito in circuitu.

SOME WESTERN FORMS FOR BLESSING
INCENSE, AND A CENSER

I.

Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, aeterne Deus, qui in deserto profanae multitudinis murmurationem flamma mulctante, cum Aaron sacerdos tuus repleto de altaris igne turibulo tuae maiestati pro illius liberatione humiliter supplicaret, incenso placatus precibusque eius clementer annuisti; benedic hoc, quaesumus, turibulum tua maiestate, et praesta ut quod in eo tibi offertur incensum sit fuga daemonum, repulsio fantasmatum, immundarum abcessio cogitationum, sitque in illius odore nostra tibi oratio semper accepta. Per.

O Holy Lord, Father almighty, eternal God, who didst punish the murmuring of the wicked congregation in the wilderness with a devouring flame, and when Aaron thy priest, having filled a censer with fire from off the altar, humbly besought thy majesty for their deliverance, didst consent to be appeased by the incense and by his prayers; bless this censer, we beseech thee, by thy majesty, and grant that the incense which is offered in it unto thee, may put demons to flight, repel spectres, and cause unclean thoughts to depart; and that our prayers to thee may ever be acceptable in its odour. Though.¹

II.

Domine Deus, qui dum filios Israel ob rebellem sui contumaciam durum vastaret incendium, Aaron sacerdotem tuum inter vivos et mortuos orando stantem tibique

¹ M. Hittorp, *De Divinis catholice ecclesiae officiis*, Parsijis, 1624; col. 134. Ex MS Theol. 277 (? Vienna) in Migne, *Patr. lat.*, cxxxviii, 1031.

incensum offerentem exaudire dignatus es, populumque de incendio liberare; benedic hoc, quaesumus, turibulum, et praesta ut quotiens tibi in eo offerimus incensum, nos ipso Christo tuo efficias boni odoris acceptabile templum; qui cum Deo.

O Lord God, who, when the grievous plague laid low the sons of Israel because of their rebellious pride, didst vouchsafe to hearken unto Aaron thy priest as he stood between the quick and the dead, praying, and offering incense unto thee, as well as to free the people from the plague; bless, we beseech thee, this censer, and grant that, so often as we offer incense in it, we may be made an acceptable temple of good odour of thy Christ. Who.¹

III.

Deus omnipotens, Deus Abraham, Deus Isaac, Deus Jacob, immitte in hanc creaturam incensi vel thymiamatis vim odoris tui atque virtutem, ut sit servus vel ancillis tuis munimentum tutelaque defensionis, ne intret hostis in viscera eorum, nec habitum ibi vel sedem possit habere. Per.

Almighty God, God of Abraham, God of Isaac, God of Jacob, send down on this creature of incense or frankincense the strength and power of thy savour, that it may be a protection to thy servants or handmaidens, and a safeguard of defence, lest the enemy enter into their bowels, or be able to take up his dwelling or seat therein. Through.²

IV.

Domine Deus omnipotens, cui adstat exercitus angelorum, dignare respicere et benedicere hanc creaturam incensi, ut

¹ M. Hittorp, *De Divinis catholicae ecclesiae officiis*, Parisijs, 1624; 134. Ex MS. Theol. 277 (? Vienna) in Migne, *Pat. lat.*, cxxxviii, 1031. At Milan: *Rituale Sacramentorum ad usum mediolanensis ecclesiae*, Mediolani, 1885; p. 281.

² M. Hittorp, *De divinis catholicae ecclesiae officijs*, 1624; 134. Ex cod. biblio.h. Caesar. Theol. 359, in Migne, *Patr. lat.*, cxxxviii, 1031.

omnis languor daemonumque insidiae odorem ipsius sentientes fugiant, et separentur a plasmate tuo quod tibi filii tui pretioso sanguine redemisti, ut numquam laedantur a morsu serpentis antiqui. Per eundem.

O Lord, almighty God, before whom the host of angels standeth, vouchsafe to regard and to bless this creature of incense, that all weakness and snares of demons may be put to flight when they perceive its odour, and be separated from thy people which thou hast redeemed with the precious blood of thy Son, that they may never be harmed by the bite of the ancient serpent. Through the same.¹

V.

Deus qui Moysi famulo tuo per spiritum sanctum revelare dignatus es, quae ad cultum sanctuarii necessaria decrevisti, ex quibus thymiama boni odoris ad opus ecclesiae tuae ob causam religionis iugiter permanere iussisti, ut mystice nobis significationem spiritualium virtutum fragrans ostenderet odorem suavitatis; tua, quaesumus, omnipotens Deus, immensae maiestatis dextera hanc creaturam benedicere ex diversarum rerum commixtione confectam dignare, ut virtute sancti nominis tui omnesque immundorum spirituum phantasmaticos incursos effugare, omnesque morbos reddita sanitate expellere, ubicumque fumus aromatum eius afflaverit, mirabiliter possit, atque in odorem fragrantissimum tibi Domino perpetua redoleat suavitate. Per Dominum in unitate eiusdem.

O God, who didst vouchsafe to reveal by the Holy Spirit to thy servant Moses, what things thou didst decree to be needed for the worship of thy sanctuary, amongst which thou hast ordered the incense of sweet savour, for the sake of religion, to continue for the use of thy church as well, mystically to point out to us by its fragrance the

¹ M. Hittorp, *De divinis catholicae ecclesiae officijs*, Parisijs, 1624; 134. Ex. MS. Theol. 277 (? Vienna) in Migne, *Patr. lat.*, cxxxij, 1032, note 394. *Missal of Robert of Jumièges*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1896; p. 281.

meaning of spiritual virtues as a sweet savour ; by the right hand of thy majesty, we beseech thee, O almighty God, deign to bless this creature, compounded of a mixture of divers substances, that by virtue of thy holy Name it may wondrously put to flight all assaults of unclean spirits, and drive away all diseases, by restoring health, whithersoever the smoke of its spices shall penetrate, and spread with perpetual sweetness in most fragrant perfume to thee the Lord. Through.¹

VI.

Deus ad cuius sepulcrum cum aromatibus in specie sanctarum animarum virtutes sanctorum operum gestantium diluculo mulieres venisse memorantur ; et in cuius conspectu angelus aureum habens turibulum stetisse et datis incensis in orationibus sanctorum omnium ante thronum Domini adolevisse celesti visione divulgatur ; Adesto propitius, et hoc turibulum celesti benedictione perfunde, ut quicumque ex eo thymiamatis vel turis fragrantiam sentiant, tua donanti immensa clementia odores orationum sanctorum ante conspectum maiestatis tue per manus sanctorum emittant angelorum ac persolvant ; Per.

O God, to whose sepulchre (as the Gospel tells) there came in the early morning women with spices, like holy souls carrying the virtues of holy works ; and in whose sight there stood an angel, having a golden censer, (as has been revealed by a heavenly vision), to whom incense was given to add to the prayers of all the saints before the throne of the Lord ; favourably be near us, and fill this censer with thy heavenly blessing, that whosoever may perceive the fragrance of incense from it, may by the gift of thy boundless mercy send up the savours of holy prayers before the

¹ M. Hittorp, *De divinis catholice ecclesie officijs*, Parisijs, 1624 134. Ex MS. biblioth. Caesar. Theol. 359, Migne, *Patr. lat.* cxxxiiij, 1031. From *Tua quesumus*, at Augsburg : *Rituale augustanum*, Aug. Vindelicorm, 1870 ; p. 277. *Sacerdotale ad consuetudinem S. rom. eccl.*, Venetijs, 1579 ; fol. 210 verso.

[To face p. 398.]



The three Maries at the empty Sepulchre on the first Easter Day ; one is shown with a censer.

sight of thy majesty, by the hands of holy angels ; through Jesu Christ, &c. ¹

VII.

Suscipe, sancta Trinitas, hanc oblationem incensi huius de manibus meis : et per hanc oblationem dimitte nobis delicta nostra : et tribue nobis misericordiam tuam.²

VIII.

THE SARUM FORM FOR BLESSING INCENSE USED ON EASTER

EVEN

Exorcizo te immundissime spiritus et omne phantasma inimici in nomine Dei Patris omnipotentis et in nomine Jhesu Christi filii eius et in virtute Spiritus sancti, ut exeatis et recedatis ab hac specie [*al.* creatura] thymiamatis sive incensi, cum omni fallacia ac nequitia vestra ; ut sit haec species [*al.* creatura] sanctificata in nomine Domini nostri Jhesu Christi ; ut omnes gestantes [*al.* gustantes] tangentes [*sive*] odorantes eam, virtutem et auxilium percipiant Spiritus sancti ; ita ut non ibidem ubi [*al.* ut ubicumque] haec incensa vel thymiamata fuerint adpropinquare audeatis, nec adversa inferre praesumatis ; adiuro te [*al.* sed quicumque, spiritus immunde, es, cum omni versutia tua procul inde fugias atque discedas, adiuratus] per nomen et per virtutem Dei Patris omnipotentis, et Jhesu Christi filii eius Domini nostri, qui venturus est in Spiritu sancto iudicare vivos et mortuos, et vos praevaricatores, et saeculum per ignem. Amen.

Aeternam ac iustissimam pietatem tuam, deprecamur, Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, aeterne Deus : ut

¹ *The Benedictional of Archbishop Robert*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1903 ; p. 94. *The Leofric Missal*, Oxford, 1883 ; 131 (Leofr. C., xi cent). *Liber Pontificalis of Edmund Lacey*, Exeter, 1847 ; p. 223.

² From many ancient French and German missals, quoted by Le Brun, *Explication . . . de la Messe*, Paris, 1777 ; t. ; p. 154, note. This prayer is obviously derived from one of the many offertory prayers with the same opening phrase ; and is to be compared with the similar misuse of an offertory prayer in the Greek rites mentioned on p. 125.

benedicere et sanctificare digneris haec [*al.* hanc] thymiamata [*al.*-tis] vel incensi speciem ; ut sit incensum maiestati tuae in odorem suavitatis acceptum ; sit a te haec species benedicta, sit per invocationem sancti nominis tui sanctificata ; ita ut ubicumque fumus eius pervenerit, extricetur et effugetur omne genus demoniorum sicut incensu iecoris piscis quem Raphael archangelus Tobiam famulum tuum docuit, cum ascendit ad Sarae liberationem. [(Per Christum. *In some Sarum Missals only* Oremus, *Oratio*] Descendat benedictio tua super hanc speciem incensi et thymiamatis, sicut in illo de quo David propheta tuus cecinit, dicens, Dirigatur oratio mea sicut incensum in conspectu tuo : sit nobis odor consolationis, suavitatis et gratiae : ut fumo isto effugetur omne phantasma [*inimici*] mentis et corporis ; ut simus Pauli apostoli voce bonus odor Deo. Effugiant a facie incensi huius et [*al.* sive] thymiamatis omnis demonum incursus, sicut pulvis a facie venti, et sicut fumus a facie ignis : [et] praesta hoc, piissime Pater, boni odoris incensum ad opus ecclesiae tuae ob causam religionis iugiter permanere, ut mystica nobis significatione spiritualium virtutum fragrans ostendat odor suavitatem. Tua, ergo, quaesumus, omnipotens Deus, immensae maiestatis tuae dextera hanc creaturam benedicere ex diversarum rerum commixtione infectam [*al.* confectam] dignare ; ut in virtute sancti nominis tui omnes immundorum spirituum phantasmaticos [*al.* phantasticos] incursus effugare, omnesque morbos reddita sanitate expellere ; [ut] ubicumque fumus aromatum eius afflaverit [*al.* efflaverit], mirabiliter possit, atque in odore fragrantissimo tibi perpetua suavitate redolere. Per Dominum.¹

¹ *Benedictional of Archbishop Robert*, pp. 94-5. *Missale . . . Sarum*, Burntisland, 1861-83 ; coll 336-537.

[To face p. 400.]



Diagram from the Saturn procession for the station
while the new fire is blessed on Easter Eve.



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ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

p. 4, line 13 : *for* 'ahalym, *read* 'ahalîm.

p. 7 &c : *For* Ramessu, *read* Râ-messu *in each case*.

p. 50, *note* 2, *add* : C. Suetonius Tranquillus, *Vita Augusti*, c. 98 : "Forte Puteolanum sinum praetervehenti vectores nautaeque de navi Alexandrina, quae tantum quod appulerat, candidati coronatique et tura libantes fausta omnia et eximias laudes congesserant, per illum se vivere, per illum navigare, libertate atque fortunis per illum frui."

p. 221, *note* 3, *add* : *cnf.* 6th Canon, Synod of Lucca, 1308, ordering the censuring of the host and chalice at mass.

p. 304, *note* 4, *add* : *cnf.* the following :—

Modus procedendi in concilio cleri Scotici.

Primo induantur episcopi albis et amictis cappis solempnibus mitris cerothecis habentes in manibus baculos pastorales abbates in superpellicijs et cappis mitrati cum mitris decani et archidiaconi in superpellisijs et almucijs et cappis . Alij vero clerici sint in honesto habitu et decenti . deinde procedant dno ceroferarij albis et amictis induti cum cereis ardentibus ante dyaconum qui legat euangelium . *Ego sum pastor etc.* quem comitetur subdiaconus et petet dyaconus benedictionem a conseruatore si presens fuerit vel ab antiquiore episcopo si sit absens . perlecto euangelio osculetur liber a conseruatore et singulis episcopis . deinde incipiat conseruator ymnum *veni Creator* et ad quemlibet versum incensetur altare ab episcopis quo facto qui habet dicere sermonem accepta benedictione a conseruatore incipiat sermonem ad cornu altaris . finito sermone vocentur citati ad concilium et absentes puniantur secundum statuta quibus statutis ibidem perlectis in publico excommunicent episcopi secundum statuta habentes singuli in manibus candelas .

From 13th century General Statutes of the Church of

Scotland, *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis*, vol. ii. p. 4.
Edinburgh 1845.

p. 321, to the second paragraph after "but no cover": add "like the censers of the Ambrosian rite at the present time."

p. 333, line 9. *After* it is always from Gratian's *Decretum*, *add* or from some *Catena* of quotations from the Fathers.

p. 352, end. Add
Thomas Becon, *u.s.* 530.

"Antichrist saith, I and my complices . . . bishops, priests . . . lawyers, etc., will to the uttermost of our power suppress the preaching of the gospel."

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